

The Judicial Customs of Nepal

KAISHER BAHADUR K.C.



RATNA PUSTAK BHANDAR

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Part I

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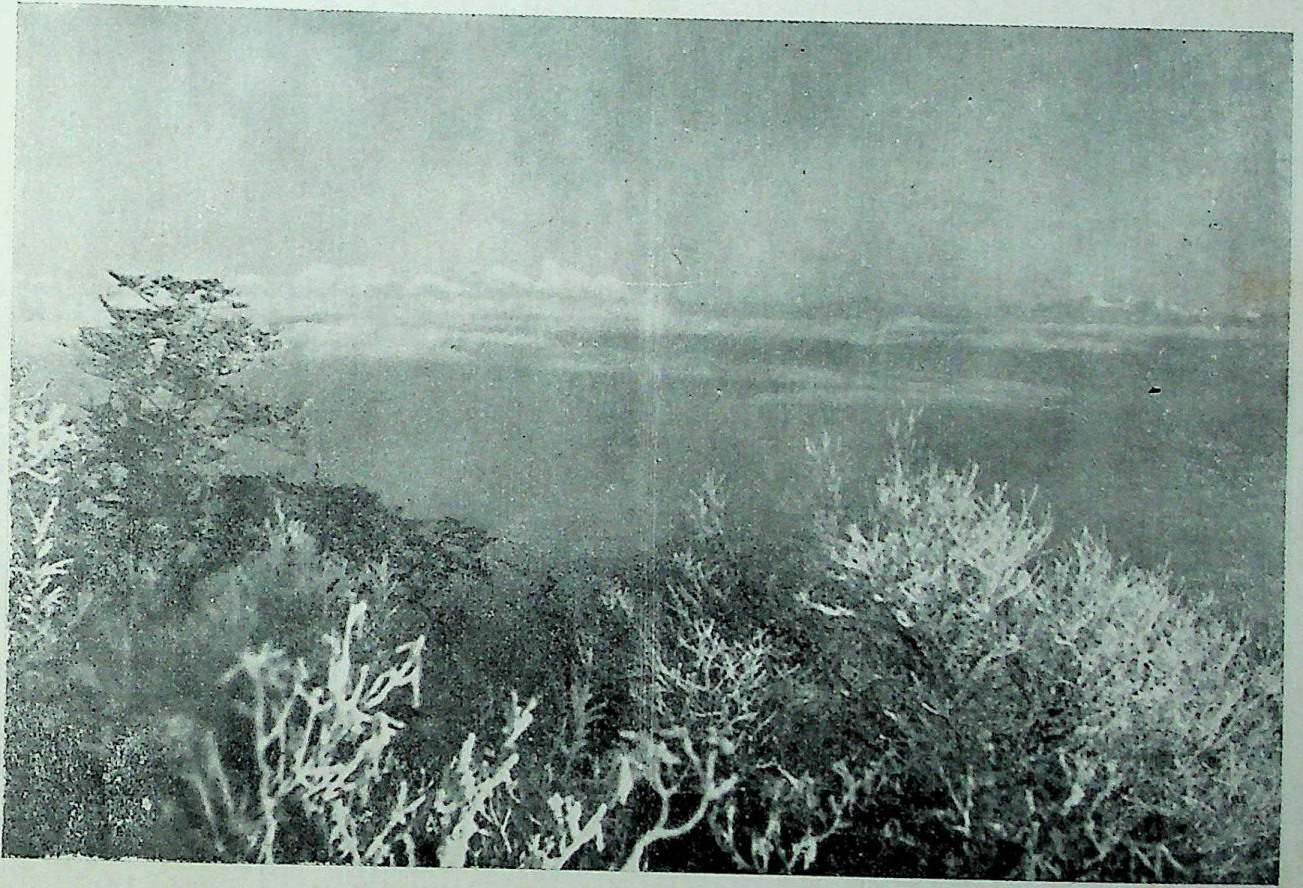


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DEDICATED TO

“भिन्न बाइर कोइ छैन,
माथि तल केइ छैन,
बोल्ने म हैन”



A general view of Sumeru lorded over by the king of mountains Sagarmāthā in the seven Kauśikī region. The valley on the southern side of the snowy range, which is within Sumeru, was Nāgahrada. This lake was drained and the first historical Buddha Vipassi cast the first seed of Lotus from the mountain peak of Mātrocā (Nāgārjuna) and foretold its future greatness.

INTRODUCTION

The Judicial Customs of Nepal, of which this Part I, was begun as early as August 4, 1958 in a tentative attempt to tell in a continuous narrative the development of the concept of Dharmma (Law) in the Himālayan cross-roads of Asia on the basis of authentic documents and monuments. The book had rough selling when five hundred copies were tentatively cyclostyled, because some sectarians objected to the historical development of the comparative legends of Sitā and Rāma contained in this book. For a while the project had to be abandoned, but I persisted in my studies under the conviction that "religion was a great force—the only motive force", as G.B. Shaw would have it, "provided you get a man through his religion and not through yours". With due deference, therefore, to the faithfuls of the epic of Rāmāyaṇa indited by the Kauśik saint Bālmiki, my readers will presently see that I have quoted the legends of Sitā and Rāma from the Buddhistic birth-stories known as Rāmajātaka and Dasaratha-jātaka, which, however, have nothing to do with king Janaka's daughter Sitā of the kingdom of Videha and her consort Rāma belonging to the adjacent kingdom of Ayodhyā. This is a comparative study of the early legends of the Kauśiki and Gaṇḍakī Himālayan states against the over-all background of the Sumeru-culture-complex stemming from the primordial concept of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati of the Indus-valley-civilisation in the interest of science. This book has nothing to do with the religious susceptibilities of the orthodox of any religious sect.

On the other hand, a comparative study of the chronologies of the Kirāntas, the Śākyas, the Kolīs, the Licchavis and the Vedic Brāhmins against the background of the Inscriptions of Akhaemenian kings, the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas, the Śaka-Pahlavas, the Kasas, the Kushāṇas, the Ābhīras and the Huṇas in transitional Prākṛit language and Brāhmī scripts of the northern class would help us to realise the great human truth that a people will endure much, will put up with much and will sacrifice if they have become convinced that they are suffering in a great cause. If the Yakṣa-god Śākyavardhana and the historical Buddhas had been able to instil in their peoples through their concepts and teachings a sense that we should rise above our normal conveniences and desires to the great plane of historic necessity and destiny, it was the immaterial glory and greatness that Dvaipāyana, Aunparama-gupta Gomī, Māna-Deva, Bhāravi and the Saugatas gave to the Kirāntas and the allied mixed races which made them behave like supermen in the battle for existence.

We find abundant references in the epigraphical records of the fifth through the seventh centuries how the conflict in the minds of the Saugatas and the Ābhīras (Avars) led to some of the most thought-provoking prayers that inspired masses of mankind with a feeling for the attainment of the ultimate best in the direction of human affairs. It is now known that the Ābhīras and the Huṇas were not the barbarians that the world believed

them to be. Seeing how the Huṇas believed in “upāyakaśālya” (skill in means considered to be one of the ten perfections of the Bodhisattva), their conquests appear to have lifted the downtrodden humanity out of humiliation and depression though they did not preach their religion. Equally the records of the Ābhīras and the Licchavis in the heart of Nepal show that, out of their crisis conscience, they added the immaterial plus of the ancient cult of the Great Mother Goddess and her consort, which not only bridged the chasm that was yawning to engulf Vedic Brāhmannism and Buddhism, but also showed people by the examples of “Kāraṇa-pujā” how every individual could be larger than life and attain universal salvation. With the passing out of Sanskrit as a universal language for international understanding, the Inscriptions of the Malla kings partly in Sanskrit and partly in Nepali and Nevari and the records of the Gorkha kings down to our own day seem to be held together by the thin thread of Nepalese chronology and the Śaka Saṃvatas (Eras) and Sumeru culture complex. As my researches progressed, I had the growing conviction that no study of the Nepalese laws and customs would be adequate without having recourse to the source materials dealing with the development of the concept of Dharmma (law) by reference to the tradition and life of the common people concerned.

My personal experiences in India, China, South-East Asia and Nepal have been a sort of revelation to me as to the impact of the Sumeru-culture-complex and the Nirvāṇa and Śaka Millennias on the Chinese, the Japanese and the South-East-Asiatic peoples as far as Indonesia. This book has been rewritten in the light of my present experiences to show how the development of our judicial customs as a whole seem to be amenable to a broader and more comprehensive handling than is the development of favoured nations and their growth. It was most fortunate that I was commanded to accompany the first official tour of His Royal Highness Crown-Prince Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva on the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference to Indonesia as far as the isle of Bāli where I availed myself of the opportunity of pointing out how the Balinese Hindus had preserved the Indus-valley cum Sumeru-Culture-complex under the hope that the Śakas were going to fulfil the promise of their Millennia despite the deprivations of the successive waves of invaders and ever-active volcanoes. Our outlook broadened with this contact, and the clustering multitude of confused events, following in the wake of the Nirvāṇa and Śaka-saṃvatas, condensed into a sharp focus the concept of “Saddharma” (true law) as different peoples understood and practised it under different cultural backgrounds. I have added all the materials that I gathered in my official sojourn through Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and the adjacent countries to show how the peoples in those ancient lands absorbed the Sumeru-culture and the Śaka-saṃvata as Śakarāja and Mahā-Śakarāja Eras in their own particular way. The invaluable reports of the excavations of Professor G. Tucci in Western Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, Professor R. Gnoli's Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters and Professor L. Petech's “Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal” as well as the researches of Yogi Narahari-nātha and the editors of Saṃs-

krit-sandēśah, Abhilekha-saṃgraha and Pūrṇimā have been of immense benefit to the production of this Volume.

Although the report of the excavations of Kapilavastu and the adjacent sites carried out by the Department of Archaeology of His Majesty's Government of Nepal has not been published so far, the materials on display prove conclusively that the Gaṇḍakī, river valleys in the basin of the Himālayas were the cradle of Asiatic civilisation. Indeed, the name Himālaya was given to A-nou-ta by the first Indo-Aryan invaders of the Indus-valleys when they sang in their Ṛgveda (III, 33) the sublimity of the river Sindhu (Indus) which roars down from the lofty snow-fields. The echo of the Himālayas finds expression in the Buddhistic text of Suttanipāto, where Śākyamuni, born in the Gaṇḍakī valley at the foot of the Dhaulāgiri and the Annapurnā mountain chains, tells king Bindusāra of Rājgrha as to the location and the delimitation of his affluent kingdom of Kapilavastu from Magadha. The Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas and their contemporary European relatives were thrilled by the Himālayas as the sources of their religious inspiration. It was the great Nepalese poet Bhāravi who introduces Arjuna to the Kirātas and makes the transport officer Yakṣa Guhyaka conduct Arjuna through the lovely sights of Gaṇḍakī mountains (Gaṇḍa Śaila śobhā) so that he may cross into the valley through the familiar mountain pass of Śilocca on his way to Indra-Kīla. With Kālidāsa's opening line of Kumārasaṃbhava the Himālayas enter the mental vision of the Gupta kings as the abode of the gods. It is not, therefore, difficult to interpret the significance of the word "Sumeru" or "Meru" which was regarded by the ancient peoples as the axis-mundi where lived Śākyavardhana, Īśvara-deva or Bhava with their consorts Umā, Śrī-īśvarī or Bhavānī in his abode of Kailāsa.

The life of Śākyamuni has it that the custom of the Śākyas provided that every newborn was taken to the temple of such gods and the baby was made to bow down to the statue of the Yakṣa-god known by the name of Śākyavardhana. The Chronology of the Śākyas give many accounts of the Buddhistic Janapadas (peoples' feet) of Śrāvastī Kapilavastu and Rāmagāma situated on the banks of Airavatī (Revatī or western Rāpatī) Bāna-gaṇḍā and Ghaggara (Gogrāha, Ghaghra or simply Gogra which is a common name for river beds which dry out in summer and swell with the rains carrying all before them) and Acīravatī (eastern Rāpatī). The report of the discovery of the pillar of Aśoka in March 1893 attracted the attention of international archaeologists and orientalists towards this part of Nepalese Tarei, so that in March 1895 Dr. A. Führer took the stamping of the pillar Inscription dedicated to the memory of the historical Buddha Kanakamuni by the bank of a large tank known as Nigali-sāgar in Niglihavā. Unfortunately, the unnecessary dispute between Dr. Führer and Vincent Smith defeated the scientific aspects of the exploration undertaken on the basis of the historical documents and the travel accounts of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang who also wrote about the Aśokan pillar Inscriptions dedicated to the memory of the Buddhas Kakucchanda (Kra-kuścaṇḍa), Kaśyapa and Śākyamuni in the vicinity of Kapilavastu. It was by an accident

of history that Aśoka's Inscription of Lumbini was discovered in 1899 so that Dr. Führer could identify Buddha Kakuccanda's town known as Kṣemavatī with the mounds between Kudan and Goṭṭihava where there are evidences of a buried Aśokan pillar. Then, too, Führer traced Buddha Kanakamuni's natal town of Śobhāvātī and identified the site of Kapilavastu between 27°32'38" North and longitude 38°3'E in the midst of a dense Sāla (*Shorea-robustus*) forest in Tilaurakot on the banks of Bāṇagaṅgā.

Dr. Führer was once again commissioned in December 1897 to supervise the excavations of Chautariya Birjung which started on the twenty-second day of December, 1897 and lasted till the beginning of March 1898. The major part of the excavations was carried out on the banks of large tank, called Sāgar, where Führer discovered eighteen square stupas enshrining the mortal relics of the eighteen Śākyas including Mahānāma who fell fighting against Virūdhaka. The names of the 18 Śākyas, unlike the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph, were, in these cases, recorded with the names of the individual saints on golden leaves in the earliest Brāhmī scripts and enshrined in the vases and buried under the Thuvas (stupas). Mr. V.A. Smith, who seems to have started with the prejudice that the civilisation of the Himālayas began with the religious missions of Aśoka, appears to have paid a suspicious and surprise visit during the excavation and stopped further scientific researches by Dr. Führer. The fissiparous nature of the reports of the Archaeological survey of the North-west Provinces and the Oudh Circle (1897-1898) and the equally conflicting prefatory note to Mr. P.C. Mukerji's report on his tour of exploration of antiquities in Nepalese Tarai at the turn of the century (1901) laying all the blame as to the disappearance of the eighteen reliquaries and the destruction of the stupas on the cupidity and vandalism of their Nepali-counterparts and on Dr Führer seem to have deprived us of the historical link with the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph exposed by Peppé. In Chapter V I have corrected the misinterpretation of the Aśokan Inscriptions of Lumbini and Niglihavā by Mr. V.A. Smith and the Oxford editors against the religious background of the Nepalese Inscriptions in Prākṛit and Sanskrit languages and Northern Brāhmī characters which seem to be a development from the pictorial symbols of Moheñjodāro and Harappa.

Thus whatever limited work was undertaken by Dr. Führer and the Nepalese excavators was undone by Mr. V.A. Smith and his party who appear to have coloured the vision of the enthusiastic workers with their own particular prejudices and distortions. Although the British and the Indian excavators treated the works of Dr. Führer and his Nepalese counter parts lightly, yet the three articles of General Khadga Shumshere appearing in Pioneer dated first, sixth and twenty-sixth February, 1904 identifying the village of Sainā-mainā with Deva-daha (the lake of the gods where Māyā-devī the mother of Śkyamuni was born), Lori-kudan where he held his athletic sports and Tilautakot with king Suddhodhana's capital of Kapilavastu by the bank of rivulet Kailā, have been accepted as the signposts to guide our present excavators. Of the streams which come down from the catchment area of the Sivalik-hills to join Bāṅgaṅgā, the name Kailā seems to be reminiscent of the name of Kapilamuni who composed the Sāṃkha

system of philosophy. It is, therefore, easy to trace the influence of saint Kapila's philosophy on and from Śākyamuni down to Bhāravi.

Among the important discoveries in our present excavation of Kapilavastu may be mentioned a large number of coins inscribed with four-spoked and eight-spoked wheels and with the earliest Brāhmī scripts, and seals bearing identical symbols of the seals of Moheñjodāro which show that this civilisation followed in the wake of the civilisation of the Sindhu (Indus) valley. According to a general report of our Director (while the excavations are proceeding yielding new and sensational discoveries), "altogether 70 coins were discovered. Extensive circulation of coins indicates a systematised trade." Among the surface finds, the coins of Agnimitra and of Kanishka in the village of Sisnia within the area of Kapilavastu by Śhree Ramnivas Pāṇḍey seem to be remarkable. Between these two limits, some coins showing curious symbols of our fish-tail banner stamped with the symbol of the sun on the obverse and the Caducean rod on the reverse, are characteristic of the temple banners and the Royal standard even to our own day. Humped bull, elephant, deer, hare, multi-arched symbol, crescent, svastik, three leafed tree within railing, Nandipada, five-leaved tree within railing and taurine symbols by and large show that the Licchavis directly borrowed these symbols on their coins. Among the inscribed coins from the rampart filling of Kapilavastu, the oblong cast coin bears on the obverse a trotting elephant (so popular with Licchavi carvings on their potteries), facing right before our traditional banner crowned by the phallus of Śiva. Above the elephant are traces of four letters giving the legend, which has not been deciphered so far. On the reverse is a somewhat elaborate tree within railing like the symbols above the pre-Mauryan Brāhmī scripts of the Sohagaura Copper Plate Inscription (Ind. Hist. Quart., X, 54 ff) in the Gorakhpur District, which describes the judicial customs of the locality under the direct rule of the Mahatos (Mahamatana) of the ancient city of Śrāvastī situated in the Nepalganj district of Nepal.

To turn to the worship of the peoples of Kapilavastu, the plinths of the temple of the Yakṣa-god Śākyavardhana seems to be provided with a sanctus-sanctorum of Strīśvarī (the Great Mother Goddess) for the practice of the esoteric worship (Āgama) accompanied by a stepped well. The discovery of the bones of animals amidst the debris of the well is a proof of the fact that the esoteric worship of the Śākyas was accompanied by animal sacrifices. It is now clear that Aśoka explained his concept of Dharma (law) in his commemorative pillar Inscription of Lumbini against these sacrificial practices on the authority of the Aryan eight-fold-paths preached by Śākyamuni. The sizes of the baked and carved bricks at Kapilavastu and the adjoining localities, the smooth-chiselling of the facing bricks in order to make the joints invisible to our gaze and damp-proof and the skilful use of the mud-mortar to cement the bricks and brick-bats used in the core, all these seem to be common heritage of the Kolīyan architects which were continued on to the Licchavi period. The group of temples consisting of the Holy of Holies and compartment porch immediately after stepped wells with each of the terraced pyramids carved

elegantly with floral, plant and animal motifs prove conclusively that the period of Śākyamuni and of the historical Buddhas was of considerable prosperity and marked by a vigorous creative vitality in every field of human activity. The vast number of antiquities in the form of terra-cotta human and animal figurines, glass objects, paste bangles and miscellaneous ornaments and gems bear testimony to the material prosperity and the aesthetic vision of the Śākyas and the Kolis which were further developed with the reorganisation of the eighteen artisan guilds during the Licchavi period under the progressive concept of Samyak Sambuddha and Saddharma (true law based upon human experience). I am now confident that our comparative study of the four-spoked, eight-spoked and twelve-spoked wheels of Law, if their religious significance is interpreted in proper historical perspective against the background of the Śāka-millennias, may interest the entire human community with their scope inasmuch as they have appealed to diverse races in creating human values under their innate scheme of Kāraṇapujā which has no frontiers.

It is not difficult to interpret the significance of the primordial Indus-valley culture with the symbols of the phallus, ringstones and the four spoked wheel of Law if we know that Śākyamuni's Aryan Eight-fold-paths followed as a sequel to the worship of the Yakṣa god Śākyavardhana and his consort which were the names given by the Śākyas to Paśupati and the Great Mother Goddess of the city of the dead. In the first confrontation between Śaivism and Buddhism it is Śākyamuni who encounters Virūpākṣa in the forest of Kapilavastu. After the Great Passing and the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph recording the enshrinement of the mortal remains of Śākyamuni and his next of kin, the religious atmosphere became confused specially when Upāli broke away from the fold in the first Synod of Rājgṛha with his questionnaire known as Upālipariṣcchā which was adopted by the teachers of the Hemavata schools. I was most interested to discover the earliest translations of these "Pariṣcchā-literature" in China. The Nepalese Inscriptions refer to these works of Hemavata-school and to Upāli who was a pupil of Śākyamuni noted for his question and doubts about the general instructions on the establishment of the community of Hinayāna-Buddhists. It is remarkable that Upāli figures prominently as far as the second Buddhist Council of Vaiśālī which proves that the legend of the death of Śākyamuni and the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph were the main subjects discussed in the earliest two Buddhist Councils as the most important component part at the end of the Skandhaka works. But already with the Sūtrapīṭaka (basket of long aphorisms) we find the effects of a foreign intrusion in the biography of Buddha Gautama. All the subsequent Vinaya-schools followed the same stream of tradition though they developed the biography of Śākyamuni to suit their particular doctrines. With the Third Buddhist Council of Pāṭaliputra, Aśoka claims in some of his bilingual Pillar Inscriptions and epistles to have interpreted Śākyamuni's concept of Aryan Eight paths among different peoples while the Missions of the Third Buddhist Council were sent to different countries. The muddled interpretation of Aśokan Inscriptions in Nepal and Afghanistan makes dismayingly clear Vincent Smith's

and the Oxford Editors' inability to grasp the historical development of the concept of Dharma (Law). The babel tended to betray, on many sides, narrowness of perspective and confusion of principles. These confusions of thought are not academic abstractions. Long before Aśoka appeared on the scene the mixed tribes of the Kirātas, Śakas, Śaka-pahlavas and the Kolis had realised the truth that peace among mankind demanded, in the first place, reconciliation among the multi-ethnic races who lived in the Himālayan Janapadas (People's Republics) under the common Suvarnagotra (gold-race-origin) principles. The gifted Indo-Greek king Menander assimilated the developing concept "Sam-Buddha" in the wake of the Nirvāṇa-Era with the passing of Śākyamuni. Then, the Śaka and the Kuṣhāṇa kings started the Śaka-Saṃvatas (Eras) in order to interpret the progressive development of the concept of Dharma (law). Finally, when the Licchavi kings of Nepal adopted the Śaka-era in 78 A.D., we find passionate debates among the Śaivites, the Vedic Brāhmins and the Buddhists about the relative merits of their cults till such time as king Mana Deva I introduced his Era to herald the transition to Bhairavicaakra from the astro-psychic system of Kāla-cakra. Thus we see that Śākyamuni's turning of the Eight-spoked Wheel of Law from the four-spoked wheel of the Indus-valley culture, and the subsequent symbol of the twelve-spoked wheel of the astro-psychic system of Kālacakra, and finally Māna Deva's introduction of the great Samyak Society on the basis of Bhairavi-Cakra, are developments from the same root.... *This is the scope and the limit of the Judicial Customs of Nepal Part I.* It is regrettable that Scholars and dogmatists, who have thought in a disorderly way, have hampered the scientific assessment of the development of the concept of Dharma (law). If the early arenas of the development stay muddled in our minds, our religion at once becomes "a religion of sensualist exuberance, and a religion of self-torturing asceticism; a religion of the Liṅgaṃ and of the Juggernaut; the religion of the Monk, and of the Bayadere".

In view of the magnitude of the work we have interpreted the concept of Saddharma (true law) in Part II on the basis of authentic documents, which we have quoted chronologically from original sources, in the form of explanatory notes to Part I. Since R. Gnoli's publication of the Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters, our research workers have brought to light a vast number of materials from their excavations of Kapilavastu, Lumbini and the adjoining regions which have their bearing on the Indian, Pakistani, Central Asiatic, Chinese, Tibetan and South-East Asiatic documents. Then, too, we have added a large number of Licchavi Inscriptions from Śaṅkaradeva to Vijayadeva as supporting materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture accompanied by summaries and notes which will speak for themselves. I have taken advantage of my long stay in People's Republic of China and of my tour from Mongolia down to Indonesia to verify the results of my historical researches in countries where the Sumeru-culture-complex and Buddhist civilisations have dovetailed and merged against the background of the Śaka-Millennia. Though the documents of the different countries were independent studies of their own particular social situation, they illuminate from different angles

the problems of the contact of that complex of Asiatic cultures and interpenetration of ancient ideologies and ways of life which from the dawn of history have been linked with North-Africa and Europe by enduring bonds. The Śākya, the Kolis, the Kirātas, the Kauśiks, the Licchavis, the Śakas, the Indo-Greeks, the Ābhīras and the Huṇas appear to have forged the bonds of Afro-Euro-Asiatic unity through their war-like activities, competitions and exchange of progressive ethos of war which Bhāravi concretises in his Kirātārjunīa. It is precisely because of the quest for the amelioration of the spiritual impulse and cohesion of the Śaivite, Vedic and Buddhistic concepts of Dharma that the greatest adventures of these peoples appear to have taken place.

In Part III we are planning to examine the epigraphical records of the ancient Strīrājya (Kingdom of women) comprised presently by western Nepal and a large part of Central Asia and the kingdom of the Mallas which operated from their capitals in Jumla and Kathmandu respectively during the mediaeval period. These Mallas of western Nepal and Kathmandu seem to be playing the same role with the meteoric rise of the Mongols as did the Kirātas, Licchavis and the Ābhīras with the rise of the Huṇas. In Part IV we would examine the Inscriptions and documents of the Gorkha Dynasty of Shah kings who appear to have based themselves on the tradition of their predecessors in the codification of the judicial customs into proper laws with the changing tide of time and circumstance.

After a mature comparative study of the peoples and documents of our neighbours, it is my growing conviction that the concept of Dharma (law) among the mixed tribes of the Vāgvatī, Gaṇḍakī and Kauśiki river valleys bears the stamp of the tradition of the Indus valley culture in progressive confrontation with Vedic Brāhmanism and Buddhism. Seeing how this forlorn country lying on the laps of the hoary Himālayas has peopled herself with the Kirātas, the Videhas, the Kauśiks, the Śākya, the Kolis, the Licchavis, the Śakas, the Khasas, the Ābhīras, the Mallas and the Goṛkhās in an ever simmering cauldron of internecine strifes, and also how the tribal cults, legends, symbols, scripts, languages and institutions have by natural degrees transformed themselves at different epochs of history marked clearly by the Nirvāṇa, Śaka, Kaṇiṣhka and Māna Deva Eras as landmarks in the ever-shifting sands of time, I am sure this exploration has retraced the long road of time with the aid of science and imagination and restored to light the lost horizon of our quest for the permanent human values which made men timeless in the midst of time.

This discovery based upon comparative study of men and events should interest the entire human community since it has brought to light the hidden spiritual impulses and the natural laws of Saddharma (true doctrine) which, so far, underlay the confused men of events as the concept of the Samyak Society struggled across oceans and continents gathering local corruptions in its progress through unknown lands and peoples. Our present excavations have proved that Nepal is not suspended in a void, but that she deserves credit for having preserved a chain of facts among the living breathing peoples that seem to be interconnected and capable of bridging the intellectual vacuum that is agitating mankind to-day.

KAISHER BAHADUR K. C.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in a well-to-do middle class family on January 11, 1907, Mr. Kaisher Bahadur K. C. had the unique experience of travelling with his father at a very tender age through the deep gorges of the Kauśikī river systems at the foothills of Śumeru comprised by the Rolwāling and the Mahālangur Himālayan ranges as far as the village of Bhojpur lorded over by the king of Mountains Sagarmāthā (Mt. Everest). He took his first lesson of Sanskrit in the village school of Dinglā which offered him the unique opportunity of growing up with the Kirātas, the Sherpas and the other mixed tribes amid a gigantic Himālayān scenery endowed with the most variegated fauna and flora at different altitudes. It never occurred to the author that this journey in the untrodden wilderness of mountains, ṛṣikulas (Brahmannic boarding school) and monasteries was in the nature of a reconnaissance which enabled him to deal with the problems of the Inscriptions with reference to the multi-ethnic peoples and their inter-cultural contact situations. Back to Kathmandu after the death of his father, Major Dān Bahādur K. C., his late mother, Jagat Kumārī K. C. had him admitted into the St. Paul's Mission School at Calcutta where he took his English lessons under kind lady teachers of British origin. After taking his school-leaving certificate, the author joined the St. Xavier's and Presidency colleges respectively till he took his M. A. Degree in English literature in 1929.

The author joined the Nepal Government Service as a translator-cum-lecturer in 1940, and as a Gorkha he concurrently received compulsory military training in the Nepal army where he rose to the rank of a Major. Round 1941 the author published his first free compilation of the countries and peoples of the world in Nepali language on Government assignment against the background of the World War Two. Devoted to the study of the materials for the history and culture of Nepal under the able guidance of the eminent historian Bāburāma Ācārya, he made researches in the various Manuscript libraries and also discovered many Inscriptions and dated images and monuments of the different epochs of Nepalese history with reference to the oral traditions and day-to-day worship of the tribal peoples concerned. During this formative period of the author's career, he came into contact with the Italian savant, H. E. G. Tucci who encouraged and published the Nepalese Inscriptions in northern Brāhmī characters in the overall scheme for the study of Nepalese history and culture.

Deputed to Lhasa as the Resident of the Government of Nepal in 1946, the author availed himself of the opportunity of carrying out his researches on the impact of Nepalese religion and culture on Bhōṭṭa (Tibet) which are incorporated in this volume. With the overthrow of the feudal Rāṇā regime after the revolution of 1949-1950, the incoming popular Government led and headed by His Majesty King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah Deva appointed the author as one of the members of the newly established Public Service Commission where he further studied possibilities for bringing about a coordi-

nation between the ancient and the modern order of things in examination and interviews so that the candidates may stand up to the challenge of the new situation.

It was only in 1953 that the historical researches of Mr. Kaisher Bahadur K. C. attracted international notice and he was invited by the Italian Institute for the Middle and the Far East (IsMEC) to deliver lectures on "Ancient and Modern Nepal" which have been quoted by international authorities as the groundwork for the study of Nepalese history and culture. In recognition of his devotion to the past glories of Nepal, H. E. Professor G. Tucci dedicated the "Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters" to the author in 1956. On and from this year His Majesty's Government retained the services of the author as the Secretary of Education, Health and Local-self-Government. Late in the same year the author was deputed as Nepal's Delegate to take part in the Eleventh Session of the United Nations Organisation in New York where he effectively sponsored in the Plenary Session the Resolution for the seating of the People's Republic of China. Before he returned to his country, the author extensively toured the United States of America and was most impressed by the evidences of oriental religious influences, specially of Buddhism, on the western shores of this brave new world.

Back to Kathmandu in the first half of 1957 the author collaborated as ciritic member with the educational adviser, Dr. H. B. Wood, in compiling the "Report of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission. This bilingual report has been regarded as a landmark in Nepal's educational history and His Majesty's Government have accepted it as the basis of their educational policy which has contributed to the breath-taking educational development of resurgent Nepal after the slump of one hundred and four years. On February 1960 His Majesty's Government deputed the author to take part in the UNESCO Seminar on School publications held in Wellington, New Zealand where he was most impressed by the material progress of this small country. In recognition of his devotion to duty in the various services of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Sovereign was pleased to confer on the author the first class order of Gorkhas.

In 1961 His Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva appointed the author as the first resident Ambassador to the People's Republic of China and accredited him concurrently to the People's Republic of Mongolia, Republics of the Union of Burma and Indonesia and as Minister to the Kingdom of Laos. The author's term of office coincided with His Majesty king Mahendra's historic State Visit to the People's Republic of China which led to most friendly and fruitful relation of our ancient Kingdom with this equally ancient country which had preserved the traditions of the Śaivite and Buddhist civilisations chronologically. In the field of culture King Mahendra's State-Visit to the Cloud Terrace near the Great Wall and the Museum of Sian yielded bilingual and six-lingual Inscriptions showing the progressive popularity of Uṣṇīsa-vijaya-dhāraṇī sūtra which the Nepalese Puṇḍits Sāgara-jīvaḥ and Aṃśuvajra to the court of the Tang Emperors and Puṇḍit Mati-dhvaja to the court of Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan,—interpreted during the 7th-8th and the thirteenth centuries respectively. The author has

also adequately discussed the contributions of Nepalese history and culture made by the Śākya and Kolis on their first overland travels from Kapilavastu to China with the Chinese Envoy, to the Yüe-Chin during the second century B. C. on to the famous Nepalese artist, A-ni-ko (Polapao Valavahu 1249-1318) during the reign of the world-conquering Mongols.

After the successful conclusion of His Majesty's State-Visit, the author availed himself of this great opportunity of four years and three months in China and South-East-Asia to make a deep study of the religious systems, culture, manners, customs, social institutions and their evolution against the background of their ancient forms and history vis-a-vis their confrontation with the Sumeru-culture-complex and the succeeding impact of the Nirvāṇa and Śāka Millennia. The author resigned from the chairmanship & the Public Service Commission on January 15, 1970 and is most happy to present this enlarged volume of the Judicial Customs of Nepal Part I which will give a unity, drive and purpose to the spiritual dimensions in depth to our lost horizon of religion against the background of the mental stature of the modern man in his own scheme of Time and Space.

Finally, the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr Bhuban Man Singh Pradhan for providing the pronouncing index and the maps. Without Mr Pradhan's indefatigable effort in checking references, hunting up illustrations and keeping in order the whole mass of materials for this volume, its completion would have been impossible. The author owes a word of thanks to Mr Chiniya Man Śākya for his unceasing labour in typing and retyping the drafts of the various chapters as they were being constantly revised and amended.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A = Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā
 Ad = Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā
 AS = Abhilekha saṃgraha edited by competent Nepali research workers.
 BrSU = Bṛhatsūci or the extensive catalogue published by the editors of National Library of Nepal in Sanskrit language.
 CBA = Publications of the Chinese Buddhist Association of New China.
 CPMDN = Catalogue of Palm-leaf and paper manuscripts of Nepal library published 1905-1906.
 De Groot = The author's brief digests of J. J. M. De Groot's religious system of China in six volumes.
 EIN = Education in Nepal : Report of the Nepal National Educational Planning Commission (1956) compiled by Dr. H. H. Wood and the author.
 G. Tucci = President of the Italian Institute for the Middle and the Far East (IsMEO) in Rome, Author of Indo-Tibetica", Tibetan Painted Scrolls (TPS), Tra Giungle pagode (GP), 'Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal", Preliminary reports and studies on the Italian excavations in Swat (Pakistan), Chief Editor of the East and West and miscellaneous works on Nepal, Tibet, India, China, Western Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and other Central Asiatic countries.
 GNI = Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters by Raniero Gnoli : Serie Orientale Roma X Materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture published by IsMEO, Rome, 1956.
 H. G. = Hermann Goetz—a librarian, curator, university professor and author of Artibus Asiae, India—five thousand years of Indian Art and miscellaneous works.
 I. P. = Itihāsa Prakāśa—a Nepali cultural and historical magazine published by Yogi Śhree Narahari Nātha.
 L. = Professor Sylvain Levi—author of Le Nepal, Etude historique d'un Royaume, Paris 1908 which also contains summaries of C. Bendall's Journey to and history of Nepal, Kirkpatrick's and B. H. Houghton's works and the relative works on Nepal available during his time.
 L. P. = Professor Luciano Petech—author of Mediaeval history of Nepal (C. 750-1480) Rome 1958, The Chronology of the early Inscriptions of Nepal, Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu and other works.
 Mbh = The Hindu epic of Mahābhārata
 M. Saṃ = Māna Deva Saṃvata (The Era of king Māna Deva I)
 N. Saṃ = Nepāla Saṃvata (The Era used in Nepal with the last quarter of the 9th century).
 P. = Pañcāvimsatishāsrikā prajñāpāramitā (The perfection of wisdom at its summit in twentyfive thousand ślokas or stanzas).

- P.B.V.E. = The Piprahavā Buddhist Vase Epitaph containing the record of the mortal relics (salila-nidhana) of Śākyamuni and his near and dear ones which led to the quest of the adamant mental state of Anādinidhane (permanent beatitude on this side of the grave).
- Pma = Pūrṇimā—a Nepali historical magazine famous for its original researches in the field of Inscriptions.
- PP = Pramāṇa Prameya edited by Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala
- PW = Perfection of Wisdom at its summit or Perfect Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā).
- S = Śatasāhasrikā prajñā pāramitā.
- Sapt = Śaptasatikā prajñā pāramitā.
- Sa Pu = Saddharmapundarika sūtra (the white Lotus aphorism of true law which is the most popular book with the Buddhists of China).
- S. I. = Select Inscriptions edited by D. C. Sircar for the University of Calcutta (1942) containing records of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute (ABORI), Journals of the Asiatic Society (JAS), of Bengal (JASB), of Bihar Research Society (JBRS), of Indian History (JIH) and of Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS).
- S. S. = Sanskrita Saṃdesa published in Kathmandu on and from Vikrame Saṃvata 2010 corresponding to 1953-54 A. D.
- S. Saṃ = Śaka Saṃvata started in 78 A. D. which forms the basis of the Nepalese Inscriptions in Northern Brāhmi characters.
- St = A. Stein—Manuscripts of Central Asia.
- Suv = Suvikrāntavikrāmi-paripṛcchā prajñāpāramitā.
- TH = J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch Toussaint, Documents de Touenhouang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet. Paris 1940.
- TLK = Results from the excavations of Tilaurākoṭ (ancient Kapilavastu) and the adjoining regions in Nepal Tare.
- TSP = Tibetan Painted Scrolls in three Volumes.
- UP = Upāliparipṛcchā.
- UDP = Ugradattaparipṛcchā
- VBd = The three parts of Vaṃśavalī in the National Library discovered by E. Bendall.
- VK = Vaṃśavalī (chronology) in the private library of the late Field Marshal Kaiser Shumshere.
- VL = Vaṃśavalī summarised by S. Levi in Le Nepal Vol II.
- Vkns = Vimalakīrti nirdeśa-sūtra.
- VM = Visuddhimagga composed by Śākya Buddha-ghosa of Kapilavastu.
- V. Saṃ. = Vikrama saṃvata.
- V. W. = Vaṃśavalī translated by Wright in his history of Nepal, Cambridge 1877.
- WNB = Professor H. B. Wood's Nepal Bibliography.
- ZBCOC = Professor E. Zurcher's Buddhist conquest of China.

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<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
v	15	Kauśiki	Kauśikī
vii	5	Gaṇḍaki river	Gaṇḍakī river
vii	11	Bindusāra	Bimbisāra
viii	34	counter parts	counterparts
xii	36	men	mass
xiv	5	Is/MEC	Is/MEO
xv	3	Yue-Chin	Yue-Chih
xviii	28	T S P	T P S
xix	12	Senventh	Seventh
51	21	How	Now
56	8	of	on
76	30	adequate	adequate to
77	10	Tibbetans	Tibetans
81	30	Superpysical	Superphysical
95	29	However,	However
100	5	Samskṛt	Sanskṛt
101	13	Yona-Kamboja	Yona-Kamboja,
103	5	from	frame
111	1	under lying	underlying
119	4	trial	trail
130	5	of	or
134	22	region	reign
135	4	Chin Tun's	Chih Tun's
145	31	was not	was not
151	17	are;	are
152	7	Kauśiks	Kauśiks,
154	22	Shrine	shine
157	1	Sākala	Śākala
158	23	to	the
172	19	Maheśvara	Māheśvara
172	26	Parama-Maheśvara	Parama-Māheśvara
194	19	societty	society
224	14	A	At
229	19	of	or
250	25	Stud	Study
253	24	III 404 A)	(III 404 A)
253	31	Eon)	aeon (Eon)
261	13-14	Sampanaya	Vaisampāyana

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
275	23	occurs	which occurs
290	6	alters	altars
290	8	alter	altar
290	last	develop	developed
291	last	decorum,	decorum',
297	14	Stage	stage of
301	2	Bhruvasaṅgha	Dhruvasaṅgha
301	2	Gunamitra	Guhamitra
305	12	of China and of	on China and on
306	9	where	there
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347	8	size.	size (see Plate No. xxxi)
348	25	scripture,	scriptures
351	7	coins	coins,
359	10	seed	send
361	23	Indo-Greeks	Indo-Greeks,
362	7	thd	the
371	9 (plate)	rganise	organise
371	11	it	its
380	34	Mani-deva	Maḥi-deva
386	12	reviavalists	revivalists

THE JUDICIAL CUSTOMS OF NEPAL

CHAPTER I

Assessment of the Judicial customs of Nepal through inscriptions and authentic documents

Mr. B. H. Hodgson's interesting papers giving "some accounts of the system of law and police as recognised in the state of Nepal" will be found in Volume II section XII of his "Miscellaneous Essays" which present a reasoned, though partial, account of the judicial customs prevailing in the ancient Kingdom of Nepal specially after the Moslem invasion of India which wiped out the last methods of Hindu legislation and government. Subsequent to the works of Mr. Hodgson, all the important western writers have made the mistake of looking at Nepal through the coloured spectacles borrowed from their sectarian knowledge of the religion and culture of the neighbouring countries. The many religious and scientific leaders of the basins of the Vāgwatî, the seven Kauśikî, the seven Gaṇḍakî and the Karṇālî river systems of the central Himālayan mountains together with the early kings of Nepalese chronologies from the Kirāntas, the Śākyas, the Kolîs, the Videhas, the Licchavis, the Śakas, the Kasas, the Khasas, the Ābhîras, the Western Mallas of Khasa origin, the late Mallas of Kathmandu and the House of the Gorkhās ruling even to our own day—have tried to make radical reforms of the judicial customs and the laws (Dharma) obtaining in our country with the changing tide of time and circumstance at the transitional phases of the history of Nepal.¹ No study of the judicial customs and the laws of Nepal would be complete without a scientific study of the various documents handed down to us in various scripts and languages and, in some cases, orally from generation to generation.

Mr. Hodgson's questionnaire was presented to the recognised legal Authorities of Nepal at a time when no reforming influence along modern

Western lines had changed the essentially and prehistorically primitive nature of the Law of Perception based primarily on the earliest cult of Paśupati—the Master of the Brute creations and of Oemā (Āmā—Umā or Ajimā)—the Nude Mother Goddess of Fertility, and subsequently on the Brāhmanic Revelations of the Vedic Āryans and finally on the Buddhistic rules of life known as “Skandhakas” prescribed by the revolutionary Tathāgatas (thus gone). The earliest Kirāntas of the Chronology of Nepal had their Recollections (Smṛtis) perceived through their bitter experiences in “The city of the Dead,”—all of which they had preserved in their Yogas (self-control) side by side with their Yajñas (sacrifices).² There was a schism among the invading Āryans as they went along in their career of conquest; some of the Āryan tribes intermingled with the indigenous inhabitants; and some others modified their Vedic Revelations (Śhrutis) as much as to trace the source of their knowledge (Jñāna) to the recollection perceived through the practical self-control (Yoga). In process of time the Āryans also identified the Shepherd god Paśupati with the Vedic storm god Rudra and made the Āryan gods of the sky partake of the Vali (animal offerings) in the Śaivite sacrificial altars (Yajñas).³ The early authors of the Vedic Revelations point out that, although Recollection or Recognition presupposes a previous perception of the subject, it was not decaying sense as was contended by *Hobbes*.⁴ According to the Vedic Brāhmins, the Smṛtis were recollections of objects which had already been perceived through the supra-sensual sense of the authors of the Vedic Revelations. On the other hand, the Śaivite Yogîs (the Professors of practical psychology) seem to agree with *Reid*⁵ in holding that Recollection as the source of new knowledge is to be distinguished from perception, although both of them refer to the same object. It was this basic conflict between the Śaivite psychologists and the protagonists of the Vedic Revelations, that paved the way for the revolutionary Buddhas who evolved scientific theories and the Buddhistic laws and rules of life to guide human behaviour. Certain traditions apart, it is a remarkable testimony to the shrewd vision of the early Nepālî legislators that they comprised almost every aspect of the judicial customs of the Himālayan highlands. And it is to them, almost more than to any other source, that we turn instinctively for an understanding of the early parctices and customs of the

Indus Valley Civilisation, of Persia, of Central Asia, of Tibet and of India in this Himālayan cross-road and hub of Asia.

The Ordeal and the Oracle

What appears to have amazed the Western writers most was the ordeal called “Nyāya”⁶ as follows : “The names of the respective litigants are inscribed on two pieces of paper, which are rolled up into balls and have ‘Pûjā’ (with sprinklings of vermilion, flower-petals, rice-grain, water and incenses) offered to them. From each party a fine or fee of one Rupee is taken : the balls are then affixed to staffs of reed and two annas more are taken from each party. The reeds are then entrusted to two of the Hāvildars (executive officers slightly above the rank and file) of the Court to take to the Queen’s Tank known popularly as Rānîpokharî^{6A} and with the Hāvildars, an examining officer of the Court, a Brāhmin and the parties concerned proceed thither, as also *TWO MEN OF CHĀMĀ-KHALAKA (LEATHER WORKER)*. On arriving at the Rānîpokharî, the examining officer again exhorts the parties to avoid the ordeal by adopting some other mode of settling the dispute, the merits and demerits of which are best known to themselves.”

“If the litigants continue to insist on the ordeal, the two Hāvildars enter the water about knee-deep, one to the East and the other to the West, and set up the two reeds in the tank. After an invocation to Varuṇa (the Vedic god of rain), the Brāhmin in-charge gives the Ṭikā (circular red spot made out of vermilion and rice-grain) on the foreheads of the two Chāmākhalakas saying ‘Let the champion of the truth win and let the champion of untruth lose.’ The Chāmākhalakas then separate, each one proceeding to the reeds, and enter the deeper water of the pond. A signal is given and both the men dive at the same instant. Whichever of them rises from the water, the reed nearest to the diver is instantly destroyed together with the paper attached to it. The other reed is carried back to the Court, where the ball of the paper is opened and the name of the victor read. Several public and private taxes are then paid, and the Court registers its decisions.” Ordeals and Oracles are common in the Himālayan Highlands of Nepal and Tibet.⁷

Mr. Perceval Landon observes : " It will be noticed that this form of ordeal is in its way an advance upon those practised in Europe in the Middle Ages. No question of physical superiority of either claimant can influence the decision. The names are secretly written on the papers, and neither of the two Chāmākhalakas has any idea of the litigant, for whom he is trying to secure the watery triumph (by his ordeal in diving). It is, therefore, a pure gamble, dependent neither upon skill, nor strength nor endurance, and though it has been abandoned, the obvious even chances thus offered of a rightful verdict appeal, perhaps, more to those accustomed to Oriental justice than to ourselves."

Distinction between the castes of Poḍeys, Shārkis and Chāmākhalakas.

It appears to me that Mr. P. Landon misses the entire mark of our Nepalese social system, when he identifies the Chāmākhalakas (sweepers) and Poḍeys (scavengers) with the leather-workers known as the Shārkis who form part of the unbroken villages perching precariously on the precipitous pockets of our Himālayan country. As untouchables, the Shārkis can eat beef from the carrion of dead bulls and cows in pursuance of the Vedic sanction for the partaking of beef and for killing animals in Sacrificial Altars (Yajñas).⁸

On the other hand, the Chāmākhalakas, until the radical judicial reforms carried out by His Majesty King Mahendra, belonged to the lowest caste of untouchable sweepers ; they spoke Nevāri dialect of Tibeto-Burmese origin and were very closely allied to the community of Nevārs. Another lowest caste of the scavengers known as the Poḍeys officiate as caretakers and priests in the Tāntric Pīṭhas (psychic temples). Both the Chāmākhalakas and the Poḍeys, though they appreciate a diet of meat and fermented liquor, do not like to have beef as an article of their menu. Judging from the large number of important basreliefs and Licchavi inscriptions occurring in what are known to-day as Lācchi and Kulānci Tolas (localities) inhabited largely by the Chāmākhalakas and the Poḍeys, I am inclined to feel that these interesting community of people at the lowest rung of our ladder of society to-day were actually the Licchavi rulers and the Kolī-priests at some decisive transitional phases of our distant past. I have observed in the Capital of India that some of the present descendants

of the ruling Nabābs, when they lost their predominant position and their profession of ruling by the sword, are usually relegated to the position of beggars, as their pride and prejudice prevented them from adapting themselves to the new scheme of society.

Kathmandu appears as Kolî-grāma or in other words, the village of celebrated Kolî people in our Licchavi inscriptions :

The facts of history are stranger than fiction. Our latest research reveals that the historical name of Kathmandu—and its immediate suburbs—, was “Dakṣiṇa Kolî-grāma” or in other words, the southern village of the celebrated Kolî people, from whose stock was born Māyā Devî—the wife of King Siddhodhana of Kapilavastu and the Mother of Gautama Buddha. Subsequent to this event, Yaśodharā—the wife of Gautama Buddha and the mother of Rāhula—was also a Kolî Princess. The Śākyaas and the Kolîs during the Licchavi period appear among the 18 classes of artisans as religious leaders, literati, artists, stone-cutters and sculptors, who are responsible for much of the glory that is Nepal to-day. Evidently they had considerably gone down in the scale of society and were, no longer, regarded as the scion of the Solar Dynasty as in the palmy days of King Siddhodhana and of the historical Buddhas.

The history of Buddhist Himālaya tells us that before the dispersion of the celebrated tribes of the Śākyaas and the Kolîs from the cities of Kapilavastu, Deo-daha and Rāma-gāma—situated presently between the districts of Butwal and Chitaban along the Gaṇḍakî basin of Western Nepal, they (namely the Śākyaas and Kolîs) were regarded as the purest blooded aristocracy of the Himālayas and of Jambudvîpa during the fifth and sixth centuries before Christ. It was also in these clans of the Śākyaas and the Kolîs that most of the revolutionary Buddhas and also Saint Kapilamuni—the author of the evolutionary Śāṃkhya system of philosophy—were born.

But after the defeat of the Śākyaas and the Kolîs by *Virudhaka* (*Virudhamva*)⁹ they appear to have migrated to the sheltered valley of Kathmandu under the protection of the political power of the Kirātas, to found the village known as Kolîgrāma. But while the Śākyaas appear with such prosperous names as Deva-pāla, Dharma-pāla, Priya-pāla etc. in our Licchavi inscriptions, the Kolîs appear to have effaced themselves among the potters,

brick-layers and stone-cutters known as the Kumhās (Kulāla loka) among the Newārs and the Patharkattās among the Thārus even to our own day.

Who were the Śākyas and the Kolīs ?

We find the first reference to the glorious tribe of Śākyas in the verses 422-423 of the ancient Buddhist text, Sūttanipāto dating back to the Sixth century B. C., in which our Seventh Tathāgata Śākyamuni tells in his own Prākṛit language about himself and his country of origin to King Bimbisāra in the latter's capital of Rajgṛha^{9A} as follows :

“Ujum janapado Rāja Himavantassa pasato.....”

To render the two entire verses into English “Up there, O King, there is a republican country at the foot of the Himavant dowered with strength and wealth, on the border of *Kośālī*.¹⁰ From that people I descend ; I am *by birth a Śākya*. I have renounced that home, and long no more for enjoyment. I have seen that enjoyment is suffering and I try to avoid it. I go forward fighting and in this my soul rejoices.”

The edicts of Emperor Aśoka in the forests of Niglihavā dedicated to our fifth historical Buddha Konāgamana and in Lumbini to our seventh historical Buddha Śākyamuni are merely commemorative.

Professor Rhys Davids in her *Buddhist India* (pp 190-191) observes that two more edicts of Aśoka were seen by the Chinese travellers in Śrāvastī and *Rāma-gāma*.¹¹ According to the Pāli text of Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtta of Dighanikāya a village known as Rāmagāma, in what is Rāpatī (ancient Acīravatī) valley to-day, was the home of the Kolī people. We also know from the earliest Buddhist sources that Māyā Devī, Prajāpati (Prabhāvatī or Gotamī) and Yaśodharā were Kolī princesses from the adjacent small principality of Deo-daha presently comprised in the Nepalese district of Butwal in Western Tarai.

Tracing the origin of the ancient tribes of Kolīs the Buddhistic commentary known as *Aṭṭakathā* of the Ambatṭha-sūtta of Dighanikāya says that the then King of Vārāṇasi (the city of Banaras in the United Provinces of India) known by the name of Rāma became infected with leprosy. Dethroned by his son because of the disease King Rāma proceeded for medication to the foothills of the Himālayan Kingdom of Kapilavatthu

which was founded by the Śākya followers of the free-thinking saint Kapila responsible for the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy. Unable to find a quarter in the city, he made a hut in the forests of what is Chitavan today ; and, as luck would have it, the eldest sister of the then ruling Śākya King of Kapilavatthu was also smitten by the scourge of leprosy ; she was conducted to the same forest where King Rāma was living and was placed in a deep pit for segregation. Fortunately for the Princess, King Rāma had cured himself of leprosy by the application of the healing herbs of the forests, for which the Himālayas had already become famous by the *time*.¹² So, King Rāma rescued the Śākya Princess and cured her by the same process of treatment as he had cured himself and made her his mate in life. But as his son was firmly established on the throne of Banaras, King Rāma decided to clear the forests, put up a few houses in the midst of the clearings and settled down with his Śākya wife for good and all. This village became known as Rāma-gāma. It was in this village that King Rāma and his Śākya Princess gave birth to a number of children who became known as the Kolîs of ancient history.

The entire story seems to be extremely interesting from the point of view of our social history in the cross-road of the Himavanta (the Himālayas).¹³ Then, there were intermarriages between the tribes of the Śākyas and the Kolîs. It was from such a marriage between the Śākya King Suddhodhana of Kapilavastu and Kolî Princess Māyā Devî of Deo-daha that the world famous Śākyamuni Siddhārtha Gautama Buddha saw the light of day in *Lumbini*.¹⁴

Eminent scholars from all parts of the world have cherished the memory of these haloed places and Buddhist pilgrims have left records of their visits to them from period to period. Among the Western research-workers Professor T. W. Rhys Davids has put this on record that it was in Deo-daha (the lake of the gods) that Māyā (Mahā Māyā Devî)—the Mother of Śākyamuni was born and the name of her father is given as ANJANĀ—the Śākya. When, therefore, we find in much later records such statements as that Māyā was of Kolî family and that Prince Deo-daha—after whom the village of Deo-daha was so named—was a Kolî chief, the explanation may well be that the Kolîs were a sort of subordinate division

of the Śākya clan. During the period, when Śākyamuni was living in Śrāvastī, the Śākya and Kolī chiefs were on the verge of war over their dispute about the distribution of canal water, and it was Śākyamuni who brought about a reconciliation between his kinsmen through negotiation. We have already pointed out how, according to ancient Nepālī records, Yaśodharā—the wife of Śākyamuni was a Kolī Princess and a cousin of Gautama. Under the circumstances the name Kolī-grāma for Kathmandu occurring in the Licchavi inscriptions assume very great significance. It is only against the background of the chronology of Nepal that we can explain the miscegenation of the many races and the regal title of Hāṅg for the Kirātas and of Dāṅg for the Dañoria *Thārus*.¹⁵

Geographical division of the states of Himavant during the Buddhistic period :

Professor Rhys Davids has not been able to fix the exact location of Deo-daha for want of adequate geographical knowledge of the locality. Generally in page 14 of her *Buddhist India* she makes the following observation: "It was, no doubt, in this plain, stretching about fifty miles from east to west, and thirty to forty miles to the southward from the foot of the Himālayan hills (Dhaulāgiri) that the majority of the Śākya clan were resident." All the Buddhistic Janapadas (Republican states) lay between the Gaṇḍakī (Hiraṇyavatī-Nārāyaṇī) and little Rāpatī (Aciravatī) river basins comprised by the districts of Butwal and Chitavana to the west of Kathmandu. Talking about the judicial customs of this ancient race, Mrs. Rhys Davids on page 15 of the same volume records as follows: "The Kolīan central authorities were served by a special body of peons or police and they were distinguished by a special uniform and headdress usually seen in very old Buddhistic basreliefs, from which they took their name. These particular policemen had a bad reputation for extortion and violence. In the words of Śākyamuni this land was "dowered with strength and wealth." The real cause of the economic and material prosperity of the Gaṇḍakī river valleys was due to its situation on the trade route between Central Asia and the Gangetic India. Before the age of steamships, railways, internal combustion engines, jets and rockets, the journeys across the Himālayas to their sheltered vales seem to have been more practicable

Plate No. I



Nativity of Buddha Śākyamuni according to the story of Aśokāvadāna found in a niche in the stepped "Pana" (water-conduit) of Rūpavarmān before the temple of Vāgheśvarī at the junction of the roads in the ancient village of Deo-pātan. Such reliefs are executed after Kanishka's bas-relief of Gautama's nativity in 78. A.D.

under adequate transport organisation than the hazardous journeys by sea or across inhospitable terra-incognita. The Āryan penetration of the Himālayas appears to have followed much the same route as that of the Finno-Dravid Kirāntas from the Indus valley.

Till the mention of Kolī-grāma in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, international scholars were divided as to the location of Deo-daha and Rāma-gāma. According to the last story of the text of “Jātaka Aṭṭakathā Māyā Devī was conceived with the Bodhisattva (Tathāgata Śākyamuni) for ten months. When the time of delivery had arrived she told King Śuddhodhana—her husband thus “O Lord! I want to go to the house of my parents in Deo-daha.” The King acceded to his wife’s request, cleared the road between Kapilavastu and Deo-daha, seated the Queen in a golden palanquin and accompanied by his Ministers sent her to her father’s home. Midway between the cities of Kapilavastu and Deo-daha there was a forest of “Sāla” (Shorea robusta of which the forests of Rāpati valley are full even to this day). Attracted by the glistening beauty of the forest, the Queen expressed her desire of sporting in it. But when the Queen clutched one of the trees of Sāla (in Lumbini), she was seized with pangs of labour, whereupon Śākyamuni was delivered. Evidently this is a very late version of the story.

Our authentic records show that Māyā had proceeded along with her sister Prajāpatī (also known as Prabhāvatī and Gotamī) to her Father’s home on the seventh month of being conceived with a child following the custom prevalent among a class of the tribe of Thārus even to this day, of being delivered in the home of her parents. About nine (9) or ten (10) miles to the east was a long way to go for two young ladies in a single day and that in the Himālayan terrain. With the fall of night, the two sisters settled down in a grove of Sāla tree in what is the village of Lumbinī to-day. It was the custom with the Śākyas and Kolīs to have morning ablutions before their breakfast for the next leg of journey to the village of Deo-daha. So, the two sisters proceeded to a pool of water known as Tel-kosi (or the river of oil) in the Buddhist annals for their morning ablutions. Here in Lumbinī, which lay equidistant between Kapilavastu and Deo-daha on the Eighth Day of the Second Bright Half of the Month of Vaiśākha (April-May in 544 B.C.), Māyā Devī suddenly felt the pain

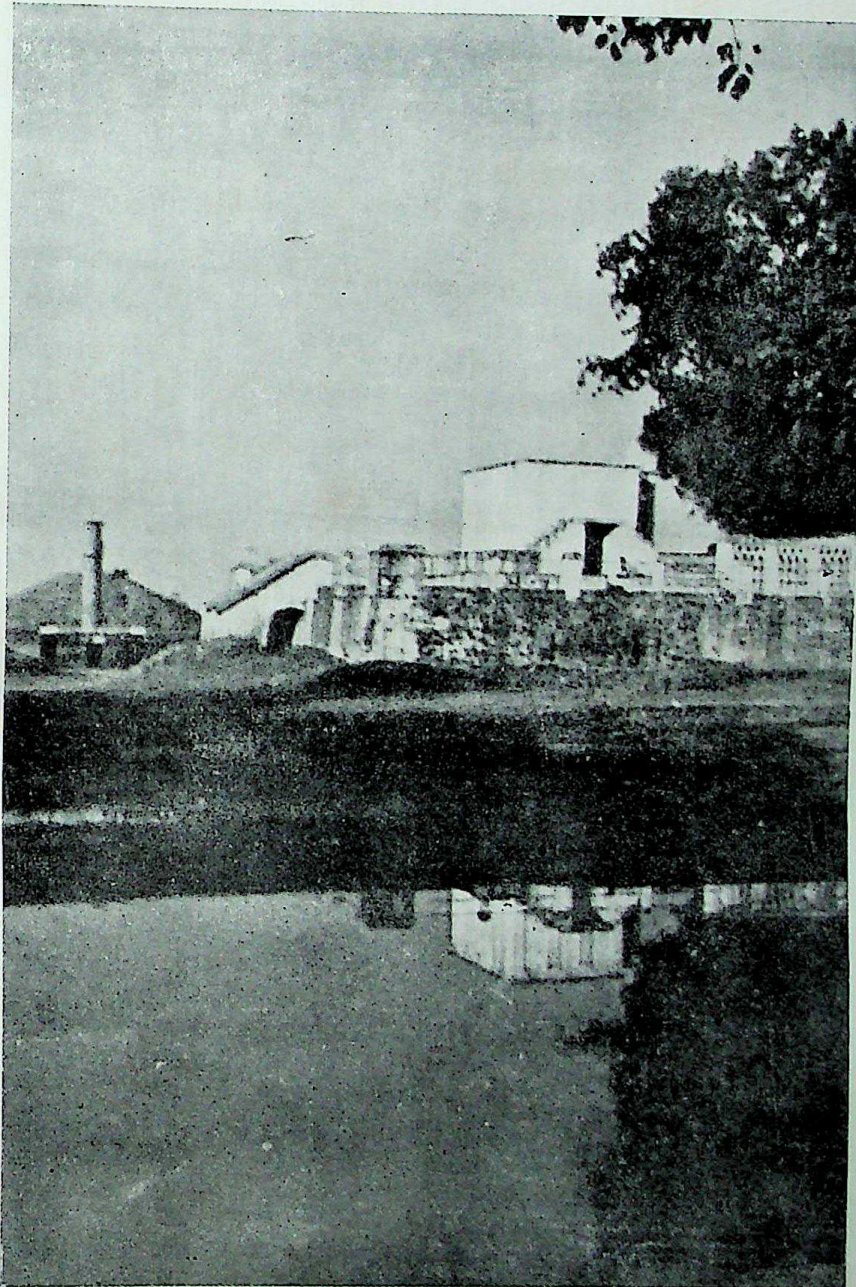
upon her, and facing the East with the sun-rise, she grasped the branch of a Sāla tree above her in a state of utter agony, and so, Gautama was delivered prematurely on the seventh month from her right flank. This premature delivery was the direct cause of her death seven days later due to lack of proper medical facilities to take care of the overtaken mother. And because Gotamî (Prabhāvatî or Prajāpatî) adopted Śākyamuni, he acquired his first name of Gautama. Now that the city of Kapilavastu has been identified with Tilaurākoṭ by our Archaeological Department, there is no difficulty in identifying the location of Rāma-gāma or Deo-daha which lay another fifty li to the North-East of Lumbinî between what is little Rapatî (Achiravatî) valley and Kathmandu along the Midland mountains of Nepal.

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids on page 16 of her *Buddhist India* mentions the following tribes and their countries :—(1) The Śākyas of Kapilavastu; (2) The Bulis of Allakappa; (3) The Brāhmins of Vethadîpo; (4) The Kolîs of Rāma-gāma; (5) The Mauryas of Pippthalivana; (6) The Mallas of Kuśināra; (7) The Mallas of Pāpā (Pāvā); (8) The Videhas of Mithilā; (9) The Licchavis of Vāisālî; (10) The Bājis of the Republic of Bajji. The Videhas--from whom King Janaka and his daughter Sitā were descended and Bajjis are bracketed to show their common origin. (11) The Kingdom of Magadha with its capital of Rajgrha was the first kingdom in Jambudvîpa that Śākyamuni visited beyond the pale of Himavant. With the specific place names in our Licchavi inscriptions and literature, it is not difficult to translate the dynastic periods of Nepalese chronology into *geography*.¹⁶

The Genesis of the Himālayan tribes :

Authoritative international scholars have admitted the authenticity of the original chronology of Nepal except where they have been garbled to add to the "boast of heraldry" by interested dynasties. Subsequent to the Kirāntas, the Śākyas and the Kolîs, before their dispersion from Kapilavastu and Rāma-gāma, were considered to be the purest blooded aristocracy of the solar dynasty. From the various accounts of Daśarathā Jātaka and of the mixed marriages of the Seven Brāhmanic Ṛṣis (saints) with such low-caste women as Arundhatî and Satyavatî, there was free

Plate No. II



The Aśokan Inscription of Lumbini where the seventh historical Buddha Śākyamuni saw the light of day. Now that the natal town of the fifth historical Buddha Kanaka-muni has been identified, the remains of the Aśokan pillars in the adjacent regions have made it possible to locate the home towns of the fourth historical Buddha Kakucchanda (Krakušcaṇḍa) and the sixth historical Buddha Kaśyapa mentioned by Śākyamuni as his predecessors.

choice of partners. The beautiful northern Yaksîs, Bulîs, and Kinnarîs of Allakappa—(the legendary capital of Kuvera who is mentioned by Bhāravi as the King of the Yaksas) had no difficulty in choosing their mates from among the Śākyaas and the Kolîs. The Brāhmîns appear to be in the minority and were not in a position to assert their superiority. The Pāśupat cult of preoption and the early scientific Buddhism with which all the Himālayan tribes were concerned were the popular creed of the common people seeking happiness and able to enjoy the good things of life. The beautiful Yaksîs, the Kinnarîs and the Savarîs represented in our early sculpture and bas-reliefs garbed in their trefoil dresses,—had no difficulty in marrying the members of these sub-Himālayan tribes and in procreating the Śakas, the Kasas, the Khasas and the Mālava tribes who called themselves Āryans. But when Gautama attained Buddhahood, his disciples appear to have prohibited the local sculptors from carving the image of Śākyamuni in his likeness, so that no life-like sculpture was handed down to posterity. On the other hand, he was represented by his foot-print in a village known as “Paderia” a name which traces its origin to the Prākṛit word “Paudāri” meaning the holy place of the foot-print. This fashion was followed by all the trans-Himālayan and the Indian tribes, so that the historical Buddhas were either represented by the Stûpas or by the foot-print of Śākyamuni. Later legends made Śākyamuni take the first seven mystical steps even with his birth; and it is this image of Gautama standing to take the steps beside his Mother Māyā, that were taken up by some of our earliest artists to represent him.

The epitaph of the celebrated Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-Inscription marks a revolution from the Buddhistic astro-physical idea of cosmos to the astro-physic cycle of Death known as Kāla-cakra :

Although it is commonly assumed that the early Brāhmî script follows as a practical sequel to the brief pictographic inscriptions of Moheñjo-dāro (the city of the Dead), yet no scholar has been able to decipher and interpret the latter. However, from the whole context it is evident that the symbols found in the Indus valley are religious symbols of Paśupati (Master of the brute creations) and of the nude Mother Goddess of Fertility,—all of which find adequate representations in our early religious symbols of

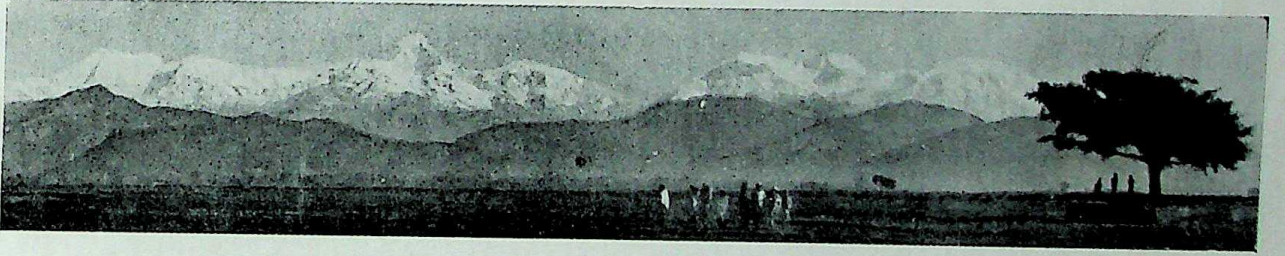
the Liṅgums (phallus), Yonîs (female members) and of animals. So far we have found no inscriptions to throw light on the pre-Nirvāna Era of Śākyamuni. The first written record is the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-Inscription in Brāhmî script and Prākṛit language within half a mile of the Nepal border, on the north-eastern extremity of the Basti district of the United Provinces of India. The Buddhist vase records the enshrining of the mortal remains of Śākyamuni, of his brothers and sisters and of his son and his wife. The inscription in two lines reads as follows :

“SUKITI-BHATINAM SABHAGINIKANAM SAPUTADALANAM” YIYAM SALILANIDHANÉ BUDHASA BHAGAVATE SAKIYANAM.” TO TRANSLATE THIS EPITAPH INTO ENGLISH: “THIS IS THE RECEPTACLE OF THE CORPORAL REMAINS OR RELICS OF LORD BUDDHA ŚĀKYAMUNI, OF THE BROTHERS OF SUKITI (WELL RENOWNED ONE NAMELY BUDDHA HIMSELF), OF HIS SISTERS AND OF HIS SON (RĀHULA) AND WIFE (YAŚODHARĀ).”

The language used is very early Prākṛit and the script used is of Circa third century B.C. at the latest if not round 464 B.C. when Śākyamuni passed away. Absence of signs for lengthened vowels, except for the engraving of the word “YĀNAM” above the last word of the second line, led international scholars to believe that this epigraphical record is considerably earlier than the inscriptions of Aśoka.

Mr. Thomas recognised in the irregular metre of the record an example of a very old Āryan stanza, while Fleet scanned the two lines as “UPAGĪTI” OR “UDGĪTI”—which is the most ancient form of the Āryan song. The mysterious expression of “YIYAM SALILANIDHANE” MEANING “THIS IS THE RECEPTACLE OF CORPORAL REMAINS” forms the fundamental link in the long religious chain of the Pāśupat principles and practices of Perception, the Vedic Revelations of the Āryans and the Buddhistic concept of the orderliness of cosmos and the steady evolution of the Universe. The historical Tathāgatas were the earliest scientific thinkers of the world, who propounded the theory that every man or object belonged to the solar system and the stars, and that man was related to them in just a manner of intervals. In short, man's

Plate No. III



A panoramic view of the Dhaulāgiri and Annapûrṇā massifs which Śākyamuni described to king Bimbisāra of Magadha as his country of Himavant at whose base lay the affluent Buddhist Janapadas (People's republics). It is this magnificent view that Bhāravi described as "Gaṇḍa-śaila-śobha" in his Kirātārjunīa. The Licchavi Inscription of the village of Gorkhā describes the river-system of Gaṇḍakī as the garland of the mountains (Gaṇḍakī-nāga-mālikā).

object was continuity in the astrophysical space in the scale of Time and that the path of man's deliverance lay in the pursuit of the Eight-Fold-Path represented by the Eight Spoked Wheel of Law known as "Dharma-cakra." The Himālayan psychologists who pursued the path of perception, contended that the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-Epitaph represented the record of guilty memory and, therefore, that the pursuit of the Eight-Fold-Path was totally inadequate to explain the astropsychic cycle of Death,—which alone was inevitable and permanent. This basic conflict led on to the further quest into the field of the astropsychic cycle of Death known technically as Kāla-cakra represented in its earliest phase by the symbols of the Phallus and female member and more politely by the symbols of the *JEWEL AND THE LOTUS*. With the Brāhmanic revival after 78 A.D., they exploited the restless compound of beliefs and practices that grew out of this melange, so that King Māna Deva I had to resort to Bhairavi-Cakra-pravartana (transition to the cycle of the cult of Bhairava) in order to reconcile the contradictions of the Śaivite, the Vedic and the Buddhistic faiths involved.

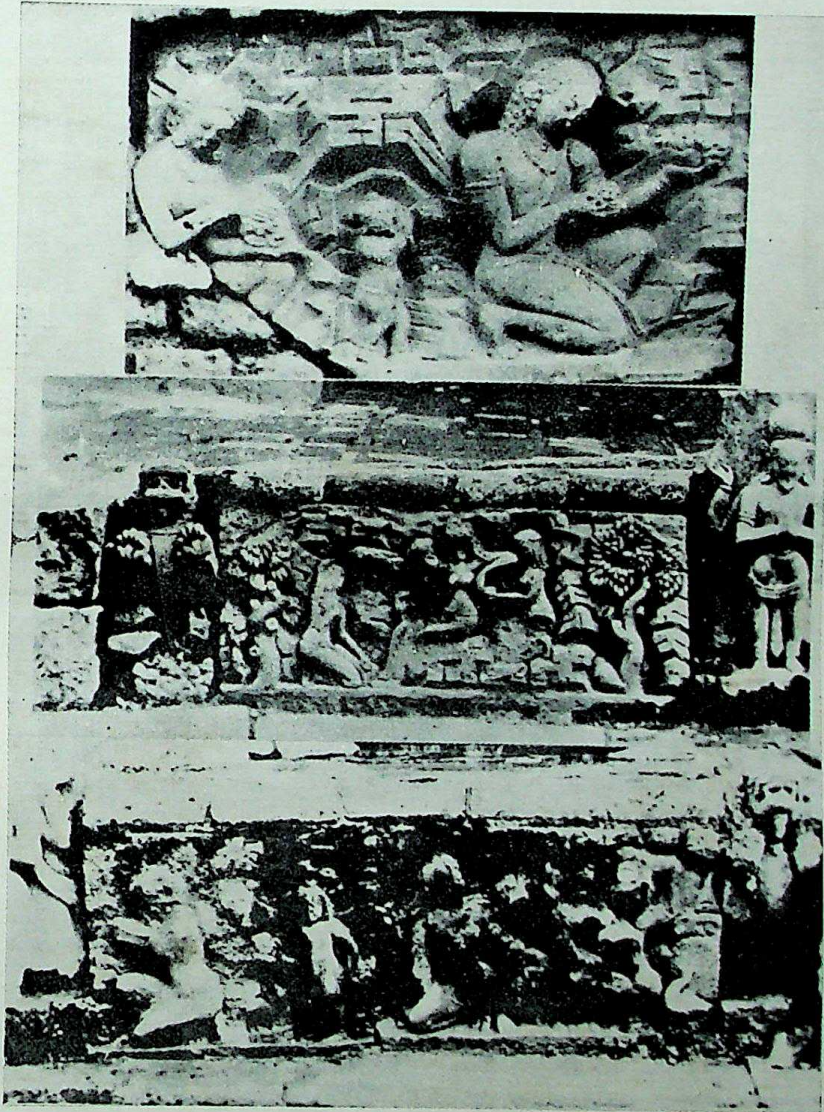
Place names in Nepalese Inscriptions are important for understanding the early judicial customs of the Himālayas :

The name " Gaṇḍakî " for the western river system and the Aśokan inscription of Niglihavā dedicated to the memory of the fifth historical Buddha Konāgamana (Kanakamuni) open up interesting fields of research with reference to the pre-Nirvāna period of history. The name " Gaṇḍakî " seems to trace its origin to the Persian word " GAZN " meaning treasure, derived by metathesis from the more common word " GANG. " The word " GAND " for treasure appears in very early inscriptions of Northern India.¹⁷ The term " KONĀGA " for the Sanskritic synonym " KANAKA " for gold and the name of Konāgamana (Kanakamuni or in other words the Golden eyed saint of Gaṇḍakî the gold bearing river) seems to be extremely significant specially with reference to the Brāhmanic legend of Hiranyākṣya and the Third Incarnation of the Almighty Visnu as Vārāha (*Man-Boar*).¹⁸ On the admission of Aśoka himself, the stūpa dedicated by the Himālayan people to the memory of Buddha Kanakamuni was discovered about six years earlier than the birthplace of

Śākyamuni and that the former, inspite of one earlier repair, had grown so old and dilapidated that he had to have it repaired for the *second time*.¹⁹ There is no Aśokan inscription to commemorate the enshrinement of the above quoted inscription of Piprahavā with the relics of the Seventh Historical Buddha Gautama together with those of his near and dear ones. The Buddhistic custom of enshrining the ashes with the name of the dead inscribed in a piece of golden leaf in some cases, and generally with a piece of gold in a Stûpa, seems to derive itself from the ancient practice of the Himālayan people to get their bones fossilised into a sacred "Sāligrāma" (ammonite stone) by dropping their skull into the sacred water of Gaṇḍakî. This very ancient custom forms part of the funeral practice of the people of Nepal even to this day. The Indians knew this sacred river as Hiranyavatî, which was the Sanskritic transcription of the original word Gaṇḍakî. At about the same period the word "Hiranyavatî" is being translated as Hsi-lan-na in the annals of China by the transcription of the Prākṛit form of Hiraṇṇa. With the erection of the temple of Nārāyaṇa at the confluence of Kalî-Gaṇḍakî and Trisulî (Trisul-Gaṇḍakî) the same river also assumes the name of Nārāyaṇî. Down in India Gaṇḍakî becomes known as Sarayu or Mahî.

Professor G. Tucci in his " Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal (Sections 11 and 12 pp. 92-109) identifies the Himālayan sources of the Seven Gaṇḍakî river systems with the country of " The Gold digging ants (Herodotus III, 102) known in ancient Sanskritic texts as Suvarṇabhûmi. This country was the home of a people who claimed their golden origin known in history as Suvarṇagotra. We find the Chinese transcription of the same word in Su-fa-la-nak'iu-ta-lo. The learned Italian Professor further identifies the Tibetan place name "Sh'āng-Sh'ung" with the so far little known country of Zāñ-Zuñ with its capital in what is a small village known as Semjā in western Nepal. Zāñ-Zuñ bordered on the Indian Himālayas, controlled most probably Ladakh, stretched as far as Baltistan and Khotan, and extended its control over the highlands of Changthang covering a vast stretch of territory of western, northern and north-western Tibet and Central Asia. Its southern provinces comprising western Nepal with its capital in Semjā was ruled by a class of Khasa rulers known today as Sijjāpatis (Semjāpattis) and known vaguely to the Indians

Plate No. IV



Nativity of Śākyamuni according to the story of *Aṭṭakathā* found among the remains of *Ṭhahiṭi* at the eastern entrance of the forests of stûpas known as *Kāthey-simbhu* in the heart of Kathmandu.

as Suvarnabhûmi, Strîrajya and chiefly as Cina, when it passed under the rising power of the Tibetans in the Seventh century A.D. It is interesting to note that the early tribes of the Kirântas, the Śakas, the Kasas and the Khasas of ancient history claim "Suvarnagotra" for their origin. OUR LATEST RESEARCHES HAVE ESTABLISHED ANOTHER INTERESTING FACT OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE, AND THAT IS THAT THE ŚAKA, KASA AND KHASA ARE SYNONYMOUS TERMS.

What do the Akhaemenian Inscriptions Indicate ?

About the time when Śakyamuni saw the light of day in Lumbini, the first Āryan King Cyrus of Persia (550-539 B.C.) had occupied the Semitic city of Babylon after its " 4,000 year career." ²⁰ With the rise of Cyrus I, who conquered the kingdom of Gandhāra, the Pārsavas (the early Persians who were the forefathers of the Iranians of today) appear to have commanded the caravan routes of Central Asia by bringing under temporary subjection the Śakas (Kasas—present Khasas of Nepal) that connected them with Central Asia, North-West India and the adjacent lands of the Middle East.

Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837 A.D. discovered on a rock-cliff overhanging the main road from Mesopotamia to Persia (Iran) through the Zagros a huge Tablet (Hall, A.H.N.E., 7th edition p. 57), on which Darius I, in order to commemorate his victories, had represented himself as a victor with conquered rebels bound before him. The accompanying inscription in cuneiform script and old Persian language describes the campaigns of Darius and gives the glory of his achievements to his God Āhuramazdā. Āhuramazdā meaning the Giver Omniscient is the Āvestic name of God. In a very old list containing fifty-four names of God, these Āvestic names are mentioned separately.

Then King Darius I (C. 522-486 B. C.) gives his genealogical table, where all the names of his ancestors show Āryan affinities. Gandhāra finds mention in the list of countries in this as well as in the Susā palace inscriptions as much as to say that the teakwood for the construction of the magnificent palaces of Susā and Ekbatanā was brought from

Gandhāra. A man from Gandhāra is mentioned among the list of subjects in the south tomb inscription of Persepolis attributed to Artaxerxes II (C 404-359 B. C.).

According to the Hindu epic of Mahābhārata the mother of Kauravas was Gandhārī or a woman from Gandhāra while the mother of the Pāṇḍavas was a Pāṇḍālī or a woman from Pāṇḍāla which forms part of the Uttar Pradesh (northern provinces of India). Roughly the boundary of ancient Gandhāra is comprised by the present district of Peshāwar, Rawalpindi and the stretch of country to the south-east of Ghazni between Pakistan and Afghanistan (Ariana). The country as far as the district of Sind on the bank of river Sindhu—the seat of the Indus valley Civilisation of Mohenjō-dāro in Pakistan, seems to have been conquered later than the first record of Darius I. Of the twenty countries conquered Darius I mentions the present province of Kandahar under the Avestic name Haraivati known also as White India under the later Parthians in the first century A.D. It is interesting to note that the name Aciravati, Airavati Vāgwati, Satyavati occur as names for the rivers and women in our ancient literature and subsequently the word “Vati” is transcribed as “Yueh” by the Chinese people.

Most important in these Akhaemenian inscriptions is the mention of the tribe known as the Śakāh (Śakas) who increasingly play a great role in our history as the people who created the Eras for Nepal, India and all the countries of South-East-Asia. The Persepolis Inscription of Xerxes (Khshyārshā-modern Khār Khan Circa 486-65 B.C. Herzfeld, A.M.I, pp. 56-57, Kant, Language, XIII, pp. 292-305) mentions categorically as follows : “Gandhāra Hinduish Katpatuka Dahā Śakāh haumavergāh” meaning the Amyrgian Skythian Śakas claiming lunar origin and also “Śakāh tigrakhaudāh” meaning the tribe of the Śakās wearing sharp armour. Evidently, the Śakas wearing sharp armour were tending to become Kṣatriyas with the cognomen Varmma while those following peaceful calling were tending to assume the cognomen of Sharmma. Equally as interesting is the mention of “Paruvam Daiva” (pūrva Devāḥ) with reference to the rulers of North-eastern India and the adjoining Himālayas which had contacts with the Empire of Xerxes. For the next two centuries, the Persian kings appear to have ruled as far as the river Sindhu

(Indus) through their Kṣetrapas (Satraps-viceroy). Against this background, we can very well see that after the overthrow of the first and the second dynasties of the Kirāntas, the people who appear with the cognomen Varmma in the quaint chronologies of Nepal, are these Śaka people. One cannot fail to notice that the Kings of Nepal have retained the title of Deva from the earliest period even to this day.

The long rule of the Akhaemenians had its influence on the Śaka, Mālava and Maurya Emperors of India. King Vindusāra—the father of Aśoka recognised the Śakas as Kṣhetriyas. With the downfall of the great Persian Empire at the hands of Alexander the Great, the Persians and the Greeks appear to have replaced the Assyrian builders of yore. If Cyrus received the influence of Babylon, his successors transmitted the pomp and splendour and architecture to the Mauryan court of Magadha.

So far as the language, on which the ancient Prākṛit (of which we find translations in the Central Asiatic and Chinese documents) is based, namely the dialect, as it was spoken by the Āryan immigrants in the north-western countries of India, they seem to be very closely related to the Indo-Iranian languages recorded in the Akhaemenian inscription under review. According to Winternitz (History of Indian literature, I page 41) the difference between the language of the Vedas and this primitive Indo-Iranian language seems to be less, perhaps, than that of the early Indian languages of Prākṛit, Pāli and Sanskrit. It is now getting increasingly clear from the ancient Prākṛit, Licchavi Sanskrit and the early Nepali inscriptions of the Khasa kings of Western Nepal, that the language and the judicial customs of Zāñ-zuñ were derived directly from the Vedic and the Indo-Iranian languages and practices.

The resurgence of the European group of Indo-Āryans under Alexander the Great and their first contact with the political power of the Śakas :

With the victory of Alexander the Great over the Akhaemenians of Irano-Āryan origin, the Greek historian Herodotus says that the King of Macedonia turned northwards to fight King Bessus (Śaka ruler of the *lunar* dynasty known as Nimiṣa) in Bactria followed by a successful campaign in Trans-Oxonia immediately on reaching the foot of the Hindukush

mountains. Only later on, when, his rear was safe from the attacks of the Śakas, did Alexander return on his steps to the south of the Hindukush mountains in order to lead his Macedonian phalanxes into the vast plains of the Punjab, where he encountered King Pururava (Poros). This is not the place to trace the historical vicissitudes in this cross-road of Asia and Europe except for briefly outlining the basic facts that, with the separation of the Indo-European Āryans, Irano-Āryans and the Indo-Āryans following religious and social schisms at different periods of history after their migrations from their common homeland in Central Asia, the main movements in the second phase were those of expansion from the Iranian tablelands, and that the Akhaemenians as well as the Greeks were opposed by the most gifted and war-like tribes of Scythians known in our history as the Śakas who were destined to play a great role in the history of Asia. After the Irano-Āryan hegemony of about two hundred years, the Indo-European conquests followed by the weak de-jure Selucid sovereignty lasted a couple of centuries, in which the defacto rulers were the Śakas with the cognomen Varmma. In addition to the Hellenic contributions in the fields of liberal arts, architecture, sculpture and culture, the present Afghanistan at the time had also become the meeting ground of the religious influences of Mazdaism, Manichaesism and Christianity on the one hand and of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism on the other. Before we take up the cumulative contributions with the coming together of many peoples and their faith and culture to the renaissance of Afghanistan, north-western India and Hindustan proper, it would be necessary to examine in the next chapter how far the revolt of the historical Bouddhas and the Jainas were factors in changing the pattern of Hindu society represented by the Indus valley cum Indo-Āryan civilization.

CHAPTER II

Jainism and Buddhism

It must be clear to all serious students of history that Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha were but the last series of the teachers who had held up their doctrines in ages past, and that the Jaina and the Buddhist teachers were as old as the teachers of the Vedas. It is absolutely wrong to think that our philosophy of life began with Vedic speculations or rather Vedic Revelations about the Creation and our existence. The Indo-Āryans were unruly and war-like seminomads who had wiped out the Indus valley civilisation. They venerated Heavenly Deities and considered them as vigorous, boisterous and war-like as themselves. So far they had no concept of the cult of Paśupati and of the nude mother Goddess of Fertility. They overran and stormed the "Pūras" (fortified towns) of the Indus valley, and gradually spread eastwards in the wake of the conquered peoples who retired to the safety of the Himālayan vales. But during this career of conquest, there was further schism among the Indo-Āryans as a result of the impact of the Pāśupat cult of perception and Yoga (self-discipline). But while the Jainas completely identified themselves with the Hindus in many of their historical developments, the Buddhist revolutionaries deserve credit for breaking away totally from the shackles of Vedic and Brāhmanic Revelations of the Indo-Āryans.

In our Chapter I we have referred to the Eleven Republican States of the Buddhist and Brāhmanic Himālayas. Politically, the kingdom of Kośala with its capital of Śrāvastī (presently identified with the village of Khajurā to the north of Nepālganj) formed the boundary with the kingdom of Kapilavastu (presently identified with the ruins of Tilaurākoṭ of Taulihavā in the district Butwal in Western Nepal). The historic Śrāvastī associated with the memory of Sākyamuni lies at a distance of about 96 kilometres to the north-west of the present city of Ayodhyā where Rāma—the hero of the Hindu epic of Rāmāyaṇa—is believed to have been born and died on the banks of the river Sarayu (Gaṇḍakī).

During the life-time of Śākyamuni, Śrāvastī was the capital of King Prasenjit. He was married to an illegitimate daughter of a Sākya chief known by the name of Mahānāma who lived in Kapilavastu. From this wedlock was born *Virūḍhaka*²¹ who became responsible for the defeat and dispersion of the Śākya and Koli clans from their homeland despite the admonition of Gautam Buddha. After the middle of the sixth century B. C. the Kingdom of Magadha with its capital of Rājagriha was getting powerful under the reign of King Bimbisāra (544-493 B.C.) and his successor Ajātaśatru (493-462 B.C.). But the Mālava tribes of Āvanti (Mālwa) under King Pradyota were rising as factors to try conclusion with King Ajātaśatru of Magadha for political supremacy. These very Mālāva tribes have been known as the Mallas of ancient history. The Buddhistic accounts have it that King Ajātaśatru, after fortifying his capital of Rājagriha against the possible depredations of the Mallas and the Licchavis went ahead to subdue Kośalī and made Ayodhyā (Śāketa) the capital in place of Śrāvastī. Situated on the banks of Sarayu formed by the confluence of Gaṇḍakī, Karnālī and their tributaries, the new capital of Ayodhyā became a natural centre of communication and trade between Pāncāla (Uttar Pradesh or U.P. and Gāndhāra (Punjab) on the one hand and the Gangetic cities of Vārāṇasī (Banaras), Rājagriha and Pāṭaliputra (Patna) situated presently in the United Provinces and North Bihar of India. The enterprising merchant classes and the intellectuals of the city of Ayodhyā, with great opportunities for travels and studies in such ancient Universities as Takshaśilā (Taxila) in Gāndhāra had become powerful enough to defy the Revelatory injunctions of the Vedic Brāhmins and lend their support to the scientific teachings of the Revolutionary Buddhas, which gave them freedom from the thralldom of Brāhmanic caste-system.

Videha (present district of Mahotari) with the city of Janakpur and Vetthadipaka (the Dhankutā district) in the arms of the Seven Kausikī (vulgo Kosi) rivers in East Nepal were the fortes of Vedic Brāhmins :

We have already seen how the Indo-Āryans had slowly migrated eastwards conquering the whole of Northern India between 1400 and 1000 B.C. But while there was a religion's schism in the Himālayās with the impact of the Śaivite cult of Yoga and the rise of the revolutionary Buddhas,

much of northern India had been greatly influenced by the R̥gvedic thoughts of such Brāhmanic saints as Manu, Basiṣṭa and Bhāradvāja. The Buddhist Agganna *Sūttanta*²² adequately describes the preoccupation of the Vedic Brāhmins. But under the impact of the Śaivite cults of perception the Saptaṛṣis (the Seven Vedic saints) had taken unto themselves a common wife known by the name of Arundhatī who has been accepted as the model of womanhood. Equally Queen Sivālī—the wife of King Janaka seems to be deeply influenced by the thoughts of the Gaṇḍakī Buddhas. Another woman known by the name of Gārgī Lopā had distinguished herself as one of the greatest philosophers of her age.

These celebrities introduce us to the highly intellectual court of the philosopher King Janaka,—the father of Sītā who was married to King Rāma of Ayodhyā to become the heroine of the Hindu epic of Rāmāyaṇa. But the palace of King Janaka seems to be dominated by the Brāhmanic priest Yājñavalka and his Kauśik followers, who compiled the Three Vedas and preached unquestioned devotion to the Vedic gods by the repetition of meaningless “Mantras” (incantations) and hymns in their honour.

The origin of Upanishadas

4389 King Janaka's court of Mithilā is famous for the origin of the Upanishadas. According to the R̥gveda (1. 155.5) the Vedic God Viṣṇu measured the universe with his THREE WIDE STRIDES, of which THE THIRD STEP passed beyond the astrophysical cosmos; and this was above human perception and discernment. This conception of the immeasurable THIRD STEP of Viṣṇu, as something beyond the finite cosmic space had obviously much to do with his elevation as the Supreme Being above Śiva and the Buddhistic theories of the nature of the universe. In the Hindu epic of the Māhābhārata composed by saint Dvaipāyana this Supreme Being is addressed as Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa and identified with Hari. It was this concept of Viṣṇu as the Supreme Being, that enabled the Vedic Brāhmins to conceive of such incarnations of Viṣṇu as Vārāha (Man-boar) and Narasimha (Man-lion) to destroy Hiranyākṣya and Hiranya-Kaśyapa in the Golden Age²³ and as Rāma to break the old Pināka Bow of Śiva²⁴.

With this achievement to their credit, the next step was to flatter the sensibilities of the philosopher King and his rich and powerful courtiers by inditing prayers and eulogies which signified nothing. In return, the King and his courtiers supported the Vedic sacrifices by calling for unquestioned devotion to the incomprehensible Viṣṇu and by giving away thousands of cows, horses, and moveable and immoveable properties to the Brāhmanic victors, so that they may encourage slavery among the indigenous population for mutual exploitation without having to produce an example of objective observation and good behaviour. As a result, the Videha clan of Mithilā, —under the inspiration of the Kauśikan Brāhmins (of Vethdīpo) living in the basins of the Seven Kauśikī river system at the foot of the Himavanta (the Himālayas) lorded over by the Mount Everest,— appear to have become protagonists of Vedic Revelations vis-a-vis Śaivite psychologists and Buddhist cosmologists.

If the basins of the Kauśikī river systems inhabited by the Videhas, Bājjis and the Brāhmins represented the purely Vedic revival of the Indo-Āryans, the basins of Vāgwatī inhabited by the Kirāntas, the Maineyas and the Kolīs pursued the cult of Śiva Paśupati and of the nude Mother Goddess of Fertility represented by their worship of phallus and ring stones to the accompaniment of Yoga (self-control) and Yajña (sacrifices) as enjoined upon them by their early tradition. After the destruction of the Indus-valley civilisation by the Indo-Āryans, the Finno-Dravid Kirāntas had retired to the Vāgwatī basin of midland Nepal in order to establish their early cult of perception and influence the thoughts and practices of the Indo-Āryans in course of time. Evidently the impact of this cult of perception had forced a schism among the Indo-Āryans; and this led to the rise of the historical Buddhas who believed in the Jewel and the Lotus Theory of Creation vis-a-vis *Vedic Revelations*.²⁵

The basins of the Seven Gaṇḍakī river systems were the homes of the historical Buddhas namely Kakusandha, Konāgamana (Kanakamuni), Kapilamuni and Kaśyapa. For Sākyamuni has himself admitted the existence of the Buddha's Kakusandha, Konāgamana and Kāśyapa among his predecessors. Kapilavastu (Kapilavastu)—the capital of King Suddhodhana—was named after Kapilamuni who was the author of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy. Both Jainism and Buddhism presuppose the exis-

Plate No. V



The basrelief of Narasiṃha (Man-lion) tearing the entrails of Hiraṇya-Kaśyapa within the enclosure of the temple of Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa.

tence of the atheistic Sāṃkhya system of philosophy which, in effect, is a theory of evolution vis-a-vis the cosmic theory of Buddha Konāgamaṇa (Kanakamuni). All the historical Buddhas were free-thinkers. But the Vedic Brāhmins were opposed to the scientific theories and the practices of the Buddhas. However, it was one of the Brāhmins known by the name of Droṇa who was responsible for the acceptance and the disposal of the ashes of Śākyamuni after the Great Passing.

Facilities for transport and communication along the course of Gaṇḍakī river valleys during the Buddhistic period :

Even a casual glance at the modern maps of Nepal will show how the Gaṇḍakī river systems flow down principally from their sources in and through the Gosainthān, the Mānaslu, the Annapurnā and the Dhaulāgiri mountain massifs, which are the trade routes between Nepal and her neighbouring countries to our own day. The popularity of Nepal for the migration of very ancient tribes of historical importance was due to the fact that they could conveniently choose the climate and environment from the frigid snow-clad Himālayas down to the tropical lowlands known as the Bhāber and the Tarei within a radius of about 140 miles. Owing to the special structure and relief and sharp variations of slope, altitude and drainage of the Himālayan mountains and her foothills, nature of rocks and soil conditions vary within very short distances thus affording early travellers and emigrants facilities to grow the sort of food they desired and also command variety of advantages of the fauna and flora to make their life happy, healthy and comfortable.

Long before the appearance of Śākyamuni in his Himavant (Himālayan country, the tantalising roads of the Gaṇḍakī river basins, like the stretches of the roads of Ariana (Āfghanistan), joined through the Strîrājya or the Kingdom of Women, the Tibetan, the Central Asiatic and the Chinese world on the one hand, and such ancient seats of culture as Gāndhāra and the Indus-valley on the other. The southern road crossing from Champāran to Kuśinārā (Kasia—the place of Buddha Gautama's passing in the district of Gorakhpore in the United Provinces of India) at Chitauni-ghāt of Gaṇḍakī was the only ancient highway leading to Nandanagar and to Vaiśālī where the celebrated tribes of the Lichhavis held their sway.

The vestiges of pottery with the haloed customs of Buddhistic burial ceremony in the stūpas of Lumbinî (the birthplace of Śākyamuni), Tilaurākoṭ (ancient Kapilavastu in the district of Bhairava) and Kolî-grāma (in the heart of Kathmandu valley) prove conclusively that the Buddhistic city-states of the Gaṇḍakî, little Rāpati (Aciravati), and Vāgwatî river basins had very much more in common with the Mallas (of Mālava origin) of Pawāyā near Mālwa in Central India on the one hand, and the migratory Mallas of Kusinārā and Pavā and the Lichhavis of Vaiśālî on the other, than with the Kingdom of Magadha and her satellites until the political supremacy of the Mauryas of Pippalivana.

During the slow migration of the Indo-Āryans east-wards after their subjugation of the Finno-Dravid Kirāntas of the Indus-valley, the northern roads specially of the Gaṇḍakî, the Revatî (ancient Airavatî) and the Karṇālî river systems appear to be very active for the movements of the indigenous population. Through the gorges of the Karṇālî, Revatî and Gaṇḍakî river systems the northern roads climbed up to the capital of Strîrājya (Kingdom of women) known today as Semjā in the district of Jumlā and then continued up to the celebrated lake Mānasarovara and branched off to Gāndhāra, Katpaṭuka and the Indus-valley on the one hand, and to Central Asia, Central and Western Tibet and beyond to China on the other.

Strîrājya or the Kingdom of women :

We have briefly described the Kingdom of Women in Chapter I. As this question is a matter of fundamental importance to show the miscegenation of the Finno-Dravidian and the Indo-Āryan tribes, it would be absolutely necessary to describe the special feature of this Kingdom of Women or of the Gold-digging-ants as the Greek historian Herodotus knew it. If the Akhaemenian inscriptions show the rise of the political power of the Śakas with the cognomen Varmma, then equally we have seen the rise and spread of the Mālava people from Pawāyā to the north-eastern plains of Hindustan with the cognomen Malla. When the first fury of the Indo-Āryan flood had settled down to its normal course, it had also brought many peoples together and generated new ideas. It is interesting to note that the earliest of the Śaka as much as the Mālava peoples

Plate No. VI



Śākyamuni's symbol of Dharma-cakra (eight spoked wheel of Law) flanked by the gazelle and a praying Muni (saint) in succession to the four-spoked wheel of Law found in the excavations of Kapilavastu. The sizes of the baked and carved bricks and moonwise cut stones found at the foundation of the Stûpa of Bhagavān-vahāl seem to be a common heritage of the Kolî-architects between Kapilavastu and Kathmandu (kolî-grāma).

claim their descent from Suvarnagotra as do the Kirāntas. One of the earliest Buddhist texts of Abhidharmabhāsa (BEFEO, 1905, p. 207) and the Hindu epic of Rāmāyaṇa (Sylvain Levi, pour 1' histoire du Rāmāyaṇa JAS 1918 Tome XI, p. 25) describe the Mālavas of what is Mālwa (ancient Pawāyā) today as the Himālayan tribes. The earliest of the Chinese writers also knew this country as Mo-lo-so following the Tibetan original Mar-po-yul. The special feature of the Kingdom of women was that it was a valley lying in the folds of the Himālayas, and that it produced gold, winter-wheat, cattle, rock-salt and wool. Such names as Mār-yul or Mal-yul or Mañjul for the bordering districts of Kyirong in the seventh century A.D. may have preserved the original form Māl from the Mālava tribes. The agrarian taxes of Mālpota in modern Nepal derives from the "Mallapotakara" of ancient inscriptions. Judging from the records of Tibet, which say that the Tibetan nobles of Nepal came to receive Princess Bhṛkutî Hari Tārā believed to be wedded to King Sroṅsāngāmpo of Tibet²⁶ at the border of Mañ-yul (Mal-yul Mañ-jul), it appears to me that the origin of the name has no relation to the rise of the Mongols to power, who, in the thirteenth century, are said to have extended their nominal suzerainty over this part of the *world*²⁷. Neither has the name been used in the last context by the world famous Tibetan poet Milārepā, who wrote some of the most beautiful lyrics in his peregrinations along these regions of morning calm and ineffable beauty.

All these facts seem to me very important in understanding the real spiritual significance of the epitaph of Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase inscription and some of the earliest Vedic and the Buddhistic records, the Akhaemenian inscriptions, the commemorative inscriptions of Aśoka to the second repair of the stūpa of Buddha Konāgamana (Kanakamuni or the golden saint) and to the birthplace of Śākyamuni, the early concept of Himavant and the origin of the Himālayan tribes and the origin of the word Gaṇḍakî for the river systems of western Nepal. The upland countries of Gaṇḍakî—Himavant seems to be vaguely known to the Indians as Allakappa along the northern sources of Hiranyavatî or as Suvarṇabhūmî (Gold-country) and Strîrājya (Kingdom of Women) because of the beautiful Kinnarîs, Yakṣîs and the Savarîs who hailed from those myste-

rious and implacable regions. Judging from the ancient monuments in the many folds of the Gaṇḍakī, and the large and little Rāpatīs (Airavatī and Achiravatī) and Vāgvatī river valleys, where the most interesting communities of the Khases, the Thārus and the Newars live with the quaintest of customs under most primitive conditions today—I have no doubt that the traditions of the pre-nirvāṇa period of the Buddhist—vase-epitaph hover around and the vestiges of the successive waves of civilization lie stratified.

We have seen how the earliest sources of the Buddhists, the Indians, the Greeks, the Central Asiatic, the Tibetan and the Chinese documents agree that the Gold Country (Suvarṇabhūmī) inhabited by the people with golden origin (Suvarṇagotra) or the Country of the Gold Digging Ants or the Kingdom of women (Strīrājya) are synonymous terms. Against this solid historical set-up such historical names as Buddha Konāgamana (Kanakamuni), Kapilamuni, Buddha Kaśyapa for the earliest of free-thinkers at the southern extension of the Gold country and the purely Persian nomenclature of Gaṇḍakī for this particular river-system of Nepal gain added significance. With the visit of the famous Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien the annals of China mention this part of the country stretching from Banaras as “ Mo-ho-lai ” and the river as Mahī, which may be explained as the Kingdom of Māls or the Mallas descended from the ancient Mālava tribes. It was these Mallas, whom King Mana Deva I of Nepal claims to have conquered in 464 A. D. (Nepalese inscriptions in Gupta characters by R. Gnoli Vol I, pp 1-5).

Early struggle between the Vedic Brahmins and the revolutionary Buddhas :

Although the pretty daughters of the Himālayas had played their part in the catharsis of the semi-barbarous Indo-Āryans, yet the religious atmosphere was far from easy. We have seen how the Kauśikans of Vethadīpo and the Videhas of Mithilā had supported the theory of Vedic Revelations and prescribed the singing of hymns to the Vedic gods of heaven and hell like Indra, Varuṇa, Marutas and Ushās and Yama and in maintaining contact with them through the offering of the oblations of Soma (a kind of fermented liquor made out of Ephedra Gerardina) in their Vedic sacrifices. The social equality prescribed by the Pāśupata Yogins and propagated by the charming and intellectual women of “ Strīrājya ” gave way

to a rigid gradation of rights, duties and legal status of the early versions of "Mānava Dharma-śāstra".²⁸ In the absence of theology, the Vedic Brāhmins changed their cults into a magic by which the priests could force the Vedic gods of the sky to comply with their demands ; so that the Brāhmanic Upaniṣhadas of the court of King Janaka in Mithilā were like so many beautiful houses, which were without a path, a gate or even a window. They recognised the Vedic Revelations with the Three Steps of Unfathomable Viṣṇu as absolute and beyond challenge ; and they preached unquestioned allegiance to the Vedic hymns and spells by encouraging belief in the inevitable Law of Fate (Karma) and in the cyclic resumption of life according to the merits and demerits of the pursuit of Brāhmanic laws. Moreover, the Brāhmins laid great emphasis on the Vedic rituals and elaborate sacrifices as aspects of salvation from the misfortunes and sufferings of life. It is thus evident that the Pāśupat-yogins had not been able to influence the thoughts of the Vedic Indo-Āryans till the time of Pātanjali.

However, there was a schism among the Indo-Āryans very much earlier than the time of Pātanjali, and the first Indo-Āryan to admit the cosmic theory of Lotus was also the first historical Buddha Vipassi. This was the first signal of the revolt of the historical Buddhas. For, Śākyamuni himself, as already stated, admits the existence of his predecessors in Buddhas Kakusandha (Krakusāṇḍa), Konāgamana (Kanakamuni) and Kassapa (Kaśyapa). The Buddhist doctrine of Dharma is held out as being well-founded in time or rather in human experience of the predecessors of Gautama ; and the Seven historical Tathāgatas are very well established in early Nepalese hymns, literature and sculpture.

As the first historical Buddha Vipassi supported the theory of Lotus and its stem from the pond of Cosmic water propagated by the Pāśupat Yogins, the quest for its key occupied the thoughts of the subsequent historical Buddhas. Śākyamuni's Buddhism presupposes the atheistic Śāṃkhya system of Kapilamuni, after whose name the hometown of Gautama was founded. On the last analysis, the Śāṃkhya system of the philosophy of Kapilamuni was the earliest version of the theory of Evolution as a logical sequel to the faith of one of the earliest cosmologists, namely, the fifth

historical Buddha Konāgamana (Kanakamuni) with his galaxy of atheistical *Existentialists*.²⁹ The Gaṇḍakī “ Piedmont ” challenged the theory of foundationless illusions of Vedic Revelations and the capricious gods of the sky built up by the “ Upaniṣhads ” in the adjacent city-states of Mithilā and by the Brāhmanic hermits of Vethadīpo; and that these earliest of free thinkers threw the gauntlet by brandishing the branches of the “ Jambu ” tree and by planting them at the important fortes of Vedic reaction. Thus we see that the scientific theory to the effect that there is an underlying order to the seemingly chaotic and capricious cosmos of the Vedic Indo-Āryans dates back to Buddha Konāgamana. For, this fifth historical Buddha of the Gaṇḍakī valley had in that early dawn anticipated Dalton by conceiving of the atomic theory as follows :

“ Every visible object is composed of the “ Pudgala ” (the Kaṇa or the atom). The “ Pudgala ” is indivisible and indestructible. The earth and the whole universe was composed of invisible atoms. It was by the combination of masses of atoms that different visible objects formed themselves, and that they went on acquiring new forms and also became endowed with new qualities. Like all ‘primitive theorists, Buddha Kanakamuni conceived that the mind and soul were also composed of atoms and when these various atoms consolidated themselves, then the objects formed by their juxtapositions acquired consciousness by the very nature of the “ Pudgala, ” rather than by the steady process of natural selection and evolution. According to Kanakamuni, the Earth, the water, the light and the air were composed of different types of the “ Pudgala. ” The “ Pudgalas ” going into the formation of the earth had the qualities of form, stickness, smell and touch. On the same assumption, Kanakamuni held that the atoms going into the composition of water had three qualities, the atoms going into the composition of light had two qualities and the atoms going into the composition of the air had only one quality. ”

The exact location of the home of Buddha Kanakamuni and the possible period of his existence :

According to the Buddhistic and the Brāhmanic scriptures of Nepal, the fifth historical Buddha Kanakamuni lived in an arbour known as Śobhitārāma close to the city of Sobhāvātī. The commemorative inscrip-

tion of Aśoka in Niglihavā (along the Gaṇḍakī valley close to the city of Kapilavastu) proves conclusively that Kanakamuni and Kapilamuni were close neighbours. As to the period when Buddha Kanakamuni occurred the Nepalese legends say cryptically that he visited Nāgavāsa (present valley of Kathmandu) in *Dvāparayuga*,³⁰ and, after visiting the shrine of Samyengu (where the first historical Buddha Vipassi is said to have sown the seed of Lotus) and the Āgama (esoteric worship) of the Great Mother Goddess, Buddha Kanakamuni ascended to Heaven, where he caused Indra—the Indo-Āryan King of gods—to practise DHARMA (the Buddhistic laws) and then returned to his Vihāra. We have already said how Śakyamuni himself admits Buddha Kanakamuni as one of his predecessors. On the basis of the commemorative record of Aśoka in Niglihavā, the stūpa of Buddha Kanakamuni had grown so old that he had to have it repaired for the second time about seven years before he erected a pillar inscription in the village of Lumbinī, where the people had reverted to the path of “ Vali ” (sacrifices) to the neglect of the Eight Āryan paths preached by Gautama Buddha. To the real initiates, who pursue the path of Dharma as the ancient Himālayan people understood it from their *confessio fidei*, an analytical study of these commemorative inscriptions of Aśoka show a very deep cleavage between the theory of the Eight spoked wheel of Law known as Dharma-Cakra and the astropsychic cycle of Death known as Kāla-cakra. On of the earliest Buddhistic scriptures known as “ Mahā-Samaya Sūttanta ” clearly indicates this *conflict*.³¹

Criticism of the cosmic theory of Buddha Kanakamuni :

Like all primitive theories based on optical astronomy, the cosmic theory of Buddha Kanakamuni was defective; for he could not say what invisible force generated the necessary energy and urge (motion) to unite. He could not also account for how such animate objects as the trees, the birds, the animals and men went on developing in the steady process of evolution and how they acquired consciousness. If, like Albert Einstein, these early astro-physicists did not believe that the Almighty God played dice with the Universe, then, certainly and scientifically they had to account for the contradictions of life and also find the distinctions between the FINITE and the INFINITE out of the jumble of Revelationary myths,

psychological theories of the Liṅgums and the Yonîs and the astro-physical theories of the Cosmic Universe. Like Empedocles, Buddha Kanakamuni does not seem to be conscious of space without which the four elements could exist.

The location of the home of Kapilamuni—the author of the Sāṃkhya System of philosophy

Another sub-Himālayan saint known by the name of Kapilamuni lived in the city of Kapilavastu, which was named after the founder of the atheistical theory of evolution known as the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy. Kapilamuni tried to fashion a mathematical model for the Universe and for the creation and the evolution of the species. Like Plato he had the concept of “Space” and added it to the four elements of Kanakamuni. Eminent scholars have tried to trace the origin of the name Kapilavastu which was the capital of King Suddhodhana and Queen Māyā. They have now come to the conclusion that the city was so named because the followers of Kapilamuni lived in it. As such the earliest Prākṛit form of the city was Kapilavāḍī or Kavilavali corresponding to Sanskrit Kapilavatī. It was from the original Prākṛit form that the Chinese scholars transcribed Chia-wei-lo-wei for Kapilavāḍī (Kapilavatthu or *Kapilavastu*).³²

Kapilamuni claimed to solve the riddle of the atomic theory of Buddha Kanakamuni by introducing the equally atheistical theory known as the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy based upon mathematical calculation to show the evolution of the species and of the cosmic universe. Kapilamuni disputed the atomic theory of Buddha Kanakamuni in the same way as Lemark and Darwin disputed the atomic theory of Dalton by introducing the theory of evolution of the species and of the cosmos and also by proving that the atom was not indivisible. The only difference between Kapilamuni's Sāṃkhya system of philosophy and Darwin's theory of evolution lies in the fact that, whereas the former recognises Satva, Rajas and Tamas as the three principal elements of the Matter, the latter recognises Energy, Heat and Gravitation. Thus we see that the dynamic period following the invasion of the Indo-Āryans was also one of the most prolific periods in Asiatic history, to which the most ancient books of Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣada and the Brahma-jālasūta³³ bear eloquent testimony.

The adherents of Buddha Kanakamuni and Kapilamuni were regarded as agnostics by the Kauśik Brahmins, as they totally broke away from absolute allegiance to the Vedic principles and practices enjoined upon them by the Vedic Revelations. To the horror of the orthodox Kauśikans, quite a number Vedic Brāhmanas known by the names of Kesa-kamvala, Ajita, Lauhitya and Pāyāsi,—to name only a few of the followers of the scientific theories of Buddha Kanakamuni and Kapilamuni in the Gangetic India, became converts to the new theories. A northern woman philosopher of the new school known by the name of Gārgî Lopā went so far as to plant a branch of the Jambu tree with two basic questions of Sparśa (Perception) and Dharma (Cosmos) as a challenge to the Brāhmanic leader Yāgyāvalka and totally defeated him by her powerful arguments to the effect that examples from the real life and death of men and of the universe would be much more useful than the precepts of the incomprehensible Three Vedic Steps of Viṣṇu. Unable to find a practical answer the priestly leader Yāgyāvalka admonished her from proceeding further with her unnecessary questions under the threat of beheading Gārgî Lopā. She had no option but to sit down and mask her hatred of the arrogant Brāhmanic patriarch under the feminine cloak of sufference. How that heated scene has survived with us even to this day,—the brilliant argument of the woman philosopher and the angry voice of the Brāhmanic saint, who threatened to kill those who did not agree with him !

Śākyamuni Siddhartha Gautama Buddha :

Eminent writers of all nationalities over the world have written volumes about the life, character and philosophy of Gautama without realising that he was born in the Gaṇḍakî basin of Nepal under the satin of the shimmering Annapurnā, Mācchāpuchre (the Fish tail) and the Dhaulāgiri Himālayas, and that he was deeply influenced by the above-said Buddhist free thinkers in his native city of Kapilavāstu. He was born out of the wedlock of King Suddhodhana of Śākya origin and Queen Māyā of Kolî origin. Early in life he was married to his cousin Yasodharā who, like her mother, was of Kolî stock, and lived with her amid birds and flowers and gazelles along the slopes of the blue midland mountains chasing clouds-capes which created a chiaroscuro of light and shade. But as a fighter, he

did not seem to believe in the existence of God and in the immortality of soul, and he pursued his happy life for what it was worth in his capital of Kapilavastu under the influence of the revolutionary ideas of Buddha Kanakamuni and Kapilamuni. Like all the adherents of the philosophy of Buddha Kanakamuni and Kapilamuni, Gautama believed that things spring into existence and disappear like the "flicker of a flame," and that the Universe was not so much the quintessence of soul under a hysterical God in the sense that the protagonists of the Śhrutis (Vedic Revelations) would have the world believe, as it was a current of evolution and of historical events.

Then, too, Sākyamuni had realised that the hard core of dialectical materialism that Buddha Kanakamuni preached was a Buddhism of despair and further that there was not a gleam of spiritual hope which held men together. All the same it was an attractive theory, as it promised an escape from the shackles of Brāhmanic hopes and fears and beliefs based upon the Vedic Revelations, and as it claimed to do away with the invidious distinction between the rich and the poor encouraged by the priestly order for their own interest. But these Buddhistic theories did not appeal to the Brāhmanic priests of Mithilā, Bethadīpo, Sāketa (the new capital of Kośali after Śrāvastī on the bank of river Sarayu) Kausāmvi and Rājgrha, which were fast developing in political and commercial importance. The merchant classes (Vaiśyas) were growing in importance, but they too tightened their purse strings against the growing strength of the new theories among the coloured inhabitants, which threatened the faiths and beliefs of their Indo-Āryan masters, as they depended upon the ruling hierarchy of the Brāhamins and the Kṣatriyas for their pelf and power. It was with a view to make the Buddhistic theories attractive and adaptable to the peoples of Jambudvīpa that Gautaman had decided to leave his homeland of Kapilavastu on the slopes of Himavant and practise penances under the Bo-tree in Bodhgayā near Rājgrha, so that he may go forward fighting in the cause of what he believed to be *right*.³⁴

CHAPTER III

Śākyamuni—the Seventh historical Buddha :

As already stated in Chapter II, the cosmic theory of Buddha Kanakamuni and the evolutionary theory of Kapilamuni gave a rude shock to the religious feelings of men accustomed to Vedic speculations as to creation, and the cyclic recurrence of existence in accordance with the inexplicable laws of “Karma” (our deeds which determined our fate). The rebellious Buddha Kanakamuni and Kapilamuni did not feel it necessary to suppose that any particular life resumed again, and that it was subject to the laws prescribed by the Brāhmanic authors of the Vedic Revelations. History never repeated itself and change was inevitable and inexhaustible by the very nature of evolution and its processes of transformation.

It is a matter of interest to the whole of human community over the world, that the small city-states abutting upon the banks of the Vāgwatî, the Kauśikî and the Gaṇḍakî river systems along the slopes of the hoary Himālayas have played the greatest role in shaping the lives and the careers of the earliest of Pāśupat Yogins, the Vedic Āryans and the revolutionary Buddhas, who have influenced the thoughts and actions of masses of mankind for milleniums of recorded history. Particularly on two small territories of the Kingdom of Videha and Veṭhadîpo lorded over by the Sumeru or Meru (Mt. Everest) along the folds of the Kauśikî river systems and “Gaṇḍakî naga mālîkā” (Gaṇḍakî river garland of such Himālayan giants as the Annapurnā and Dhaulāgiri), as conveniently restricted as a few small laboratories, the religious schism among the Indo-Āryans appears to have taken the most serious turn.

Unlike India, Nepal does not believe that Śākyamuni's enlightenment dawned upon him in a flash under the Bodhi tree and that he was the first historical Buddha. On the other hand, Śākyamuni's illumination was founded on his own personal struggle and on the historical experiences of the six Tathāgatas (also known popularly as the Mānushi or the Swābhāvika Buddhas) namely the Buddhas Vipassi, Sikhin, Viswabhuva, Kakusandha (Kraṇḍakāṇḍa), Kanakamuni (Konāgamana) and Kassapa (Kaśyapa).

Śākyamuni himself admits the last three historical Buddhas as his predecessors, and there are archaeological evidences in Nepal to bear testimony to their existence. Then, too, we find ample evidence of the influence of Kapilamuni's Śāṃkhya system of philosophy upon the life and work of Śākyamuni. No less an ancient book than the *Lalita-vistāra*, which was the very first Sanskrit text to be translated into the Chinese language as P'u-yao-ching, is prepared to admit that Śākyamuni was the only Buddha of history. At Bhārhut and Śānchi the seven historical Buddhas of the Nepalese canon are found symbolised by their Caityas and their respective trees.

Nevertheless Śākyamuni deserves credit for having given a geographical expression of "Himavant" to the ancient form of "*Anonta*"³⁵ and also for giving a definite form and systematic force to the concept of the three characteristics of life, namely *Atta* (Ego), *Anatta* (non-ego or non-soul) and suffering and pain, which had been agitating the minds of his contemporaries. Upon this broad base, he founded the doctrine of the four noble truths as follows : 1. Suffering exists ; 2. Ignorance and desire are the causes of pain and suffering ; 3. It is possible to get a release from the pain and suffering of life, to which we are subject ; 4. and the means of release are the Āryan Eight Paths, namely, right knowledge, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right living, right endeavour, right mindfulness and right meditation. In this important respect Śākyamuni appears as a foil to the galaxy of Himālayan Yogins and the Buddhistic free-thinkers, even as the Brāhmanic saint Dvaipāyana emerges with his concept of Bhārata and his Bhāgavata-dharma as the defender of the Vedic speculations. As both the Yogīs and the historical Buddhas did not admit the existence of *Atta* (Ego or soul), Śākyamuni's position on the whole is inclined to be atheistical vis-a-vis the Vedic Brāhmins.

So far the mixed tribal peoples of the Himālayas believed in what they perceived through their Yogas and followed it up in their ritual practices of the Yajñas (Sacrifice). As there was no place for logic and philosophy, it suited the Vedic Brāhmins to absorb the Himālayan God Śiva as their Storm-God Rudra and associate Him with Vedic rituals. The Yogic principles and practices were the popular creed among the Himālayan men and women, seeking happiness and enjoying themselves. And as the Govern-

ment and the people did not limit the expression of ideas and actions after the subsidence of the first fury of the Indo-Āryan invasion, we can safely attribute the notion that there was an underlying order to the seemingly chaotic and capricious cosmos of the Vedic Brāhmins to the Lotus theory of the first historical Buddha Vipassi. We have already seen how the quest of its key occupied the subsequent historical Buddhas. In this brilliant dawn of hope for mankind every shade of opinion of the atheists or the agnostics and even of those who regarded life as an end in itself seems to be respected.

The transition to the Symbol of Dharma-cakra with the Eight Spoked wheel of Law in about 505 B.C., which became universal in its scope and appeal :

Śākyamuni had to contend as much against the mental complexities of the Pāsupat Yogins as he had to build a bridge of understanding between the Vedic Brāhmins and the revolutionary Buddhas. With this object in view, Gautama gave a new direction to the astro-physical theories of the historical Tathāgatas in order to bring the Buddhistic thoughts in line with the authors of the Upaniṣadas, who had influenced some of the powerful states of the Gangetic India. According to the universally accepted tradition Śākyamuni was born in Lumbinī on the eight day of Lunation of the month of Vaiśākha (April-May) 544 B.C. and left his home town of Kapilavastu at the age of 29 years of age, obtained the Bodhi at his 35th year and set the Eight Spoked Wheel of Law in motion on his 36th year, which would work to about 505 B.C. He constituted his doctrines into this simple "Dharma-cakra" and made it the symbol of the Āryan Eight Paths of plain-living and high-thinking, which aimed at the extinction of futile personal aims that make life unnecessarily complicated and dreadful. Gautama preached that there could be no basis for social order, no security, no sound religious leadership until men lost themselves in the pursuit of something, which was greater than their personal self-seeking.

Personal experiences of Śākyamuni

Gautama traced all the miseries and discontents of life to our insatiable selfishness. He did not, therefore, believe in laying down sand-towers of laws only to be destroyed by the changing tides of the ocean of time. If suffering is due to the torment of our greedy desire, all the laws conceived

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Gautama traced all the miseries and discontents of life to our insatiable selfishness. He did not, therefore, believe in laying down sand-towers of laws only to be destroyed by the changing tides of the ocean of time. If suffering is due to the torment of our greedy desire, all the laws conceived

by men were violations of the laws of nature and would defeat their own ends, until a man has overcome all personal cravings like the gratification of our sensual pleasures, the never-dying desire for the good things of life and the sinful desire of personal immortality, though born to be dead and forgotten. But once born man was perpetually in the Promethean chain of petty desires. There could be no real freedom for man until he broke the handcuffs of his own desires. The good and evil moves within ourselves even as the day follows the night. But when the shadow of desire fades away and no longer rules a man's life, and when the first personal pronoun vanishes from his private thought, then the light that lingers is the serene and unstained light of Nirvāṇa without becoming a shadow to another dawn of insatiable cravings.

During his six years of penances under the Bo-tree in Bodh-gayā, Gautama had braved the dreadful storms, thunders and lightnings to realise that the frail frame of man could not match the might and passions of nature. Reason had impelled him and that to the chagrin of his companions—to ask for food and shelter, so that he may survive the fury of nature and share the peace and serenity of the world of working men, and yet break the painful shell that shackled human understandings through self-knowledge and the consequent unfolding of his Atta (ego). Throughout his life he was a loving and lovable man, who did not claim to be a Buddha like unto his predecessors, but whose worth he had recognised. Neither did he claim to teach anybody except for leading his contemporaries through the pursuit of the Āryan Eight Paths to the thresholds of their own minds, so that they may improve and unfold themselves by killing their futile personal aims and rising to nature's great schemes under her own conditions.

Criticism of Gautama's philosophy of life in his own time :

No doubt, we have in Gautama's teachings the most complete analysis of "Dīṭhi" (empirical opinion) for the attainment of "Panna" (true wisdom). But the doctrine of wise renunciation neglected the cultivation and regulation of will through "Yoga" (self-control). Gautama had claimed the renouncement of his wordly heritage in search of truth; but its weakness lay in his doctrine of total withdrawal from the universal impulse of bringing up a happy family through love of women and children

and the constructive efforts of building houses and cities and of linking them by roads, of improving the yields of our earthly fields by redoubled efforts and by application of sciences, of spreading the knowledge of better health and hygiene and of encouraging political ability with a real passion for improving the conditions of suffering humanity, so that they may live the more happily.

Both Gautama and Mahāvīra (Vardhamāna) had to contend with the views of several well-known Yogins and teachers. They held that Gautama did not enoble duties and responsibilities, but as an escapist, he sought the seclusion of meditation in preference to the tender sight of his new-born son Rāhula lying so innocently and peacefully in the arms of his wife Yaśodharā with immense possibilities of life before them. Then, too, he had not experienced the ecstasy of sleeping with the eternal prayer of Om (ॐ) for Yaśodharā in his heart and of waking with the morning matins of Himālayan birds for the beauty and harmony of what love in the sublime Himālayan scenery had to offer. Like the big "Peepul" trees in the Himālayan subregions, Gautama had destroyed the temple of love he clung to without allowing the least scope for the growth of the rhododendrons of Yaśodharā's care and affection in their shadows. He had seen it clear that his son Rāhula had seen the light of day out of his wedlock and caresses with Yaśodharā, but he had denied to his son the right to fulfil life's longing for further procreation through his wilful act of renouncement. The schools of the Śāivas and the Brāhmins equally attacked Śākyamuni to the effect that it was easier to cut his princely lock of hair, deliver his favourite horse Kaṇṭaka to the care of his charioteer Channa and seek shelter in the monastic seclusion of the Saṅghas on the charity of his pious devotees, than buffet the bellows of the world and face the rigours of life like a man. Much of the adverse criticism did not seem to take note of Śākyamuni's personal experience, which had enabled him to emancipate himself spiritually. The disciples of his newly created Saṅghas appeared to have absorbed the doctrine of Gautama at their ebb-time to slip from the idea of renouncing their giant self to the idea of renouncing active life. And none of his early disciples had been through the floodtime of his ecstatic experience to appreciate Gāutama's advanced theory of Ego or Non-Ego. In their utter ignorance, they interpreted his concept of

Nibbāna as an aspect of salvation from the sufferings and the misfortunes of life and from the tortures of hell after death.

Against such a religious background Gautama's followers found it by far the easier to interpret the term "Dhamma" in the context of the Vedic religion to exact their toll of alms from their pious donors as an insurance against the torments of hell, rather than in the real Buddhistic implication of the cosmos and its evolution. These thankless impositions helped the disciples of Gautama to flee the trials and tribulations of our work-a-day world and fritter away their lives in the seclusion of their monastic Saṅghas at the expense of the credulous devotees, to whom, however, life was full of sweat and tears and toil. Conceived in a spirit of ingratitude for the donors,—the disciples of Gautama rendered the lives of the field workers dark and empty without the urge of curiosity, knowledge and love to bind them to the piece of earth they cultivated with distaste, because work for them was a curse and life a misfortune, till such time as the monks gave them a passport to Heaven in the name of the Divine Buddha.

The impact of "Dharma-cakra-pravartana" or the transition to the symbol of the Eight-Spoked-Wheel of Law :

Although Śākyamuni had to contend with the different views of the galaxy of preachers of his own time, yet the transition to the Āryan Eight Paths symbolised by the Eight-Spoked-Wheel of Dharma (law) represents basically the sum total of man's answers to the problems of the Himālayan society and the Universe way back in the sixth century B. C. We have already seen how the Vāgwatî and the Kauśikî-city-states had given a tremendous perspective to the brilliant dawn of the Buddhistic civilisation in the Gaṇḍakî states of the Himālayas. Through one channel or another the fruits of the accumulated experience of the Indus-valley civilisation had survived with the Kirāntas as a living and tangible force of Paśupati and the nude Mother Goddess of Fertility to remind the Indo-Āryans that the best approach to the Almighty God was through Yoga (Self-discipline). The conqueror and the conquered alike had not encountered the Almighty God, though everybody felt his immanence. It was increasingly realised that the Indus-valley phallic and ring-stone symbols were supposed to gather, in physical form, that life-force, which the early Pāśupat Yogins expressed by the first vowel Omn (ॐ). This was a coinage derived from the union

of the Phallus and Yonî (female member) and the resulting orgasm, which in the Yogic practices of self-control was defined as the highest form of bliss and the first step to Yoga (self-discipline). The six-syllabled Mantra (spell) namely "Om̐ Mañi padmé hum" meaning "I am in the jewel and the Lotus" is an enlarged and improved version of the first vowel Om̐ (ॐ) which became universal in its meaning and its application. This sex-affirming Indus-valley culture had its astro-physical and astro-psychic aspects, which appear to have forced a schism among the invading Indo-Āryan themselves. And if the Kauśikan Brāhmins absorbed Paśupati as their storm God Rudra to explain their Vedic Revelations, then equally the Tathāgatas (the seven historical Buddhas) accepted the life force of the first vowel Om̐ (ॐ) to explain the cosmic theory of creation and the evolution of life. But both the Vedic Brāhmins and the revolutionary Buddhas had come to a dilemma, because they could not explain the mystery of Death.

Against such a background Śākyamuni's turning of the Eight Spoked Wheel of Dhamma (law) and the founding of the cult of the THREE JEWELS independent of the Lotus as the right way to Nibbāna assume tremendous significance. And so far as the Eight-fold-path implied the improvement of human conduct and behaviour, it was to that extent an advance upon the Vedic religion of observances and rituals, which justified cruel sacrifices at the altar of their deities of the sky as an act of worship and communion. The Hinayāna Buddhism, in so far as Śākyamuni conceived and preached it, did not take notice of the laws of Manu and of such Semitic Revelations as the Ten Commandments in order to make them binding upon its adherents to obey specific laws of their Revelations and pay their obeisance to the sacred order of priests. On the line of the teachings of the historical Buddhas, Gautama's concept of Dhamma seems to be strictly scientific without any scope for the feelings of joys and sorrows usually associated with sectarian religious beliefs.

Neither did Gautama have any theology to assert or deny the existence of the various spirits, deities and goblins that were believed to inhabit the cosmos invisibly. The boundless and the bondless wheel of his Dhamma-cakra turned round and round with his concept of Nibbāna-pada under the canopy of the sky studded with the sun, the moon and the stars. But

if nature is boundless and bondless, she is equally a stern task-mistress with her own demands of hunger and thirst of our everyday existence. For a while Gautama had succeeded by his own unparalleled example in kindling among his disciples the longing for emancipation from their giant selves. But all of them could not be a party to his personal experience ; and even among the disciples that he was sending out from his headquarters in Mṛgadava (Sāranātha), there were many, who did not grasp the idea of emancipation from self ; and they broadcast their teachings with a view to advertise Gautama as the opener of the path of Heaven and the Saviour from the torments of Hell. When Gautama shunned his home to go forward fighting, he appears to have believed that part of the creative energy of the Tāthagatas had sprung from their ability to postpone the venal aspect of the sexual awakening of the Jewel and the Lotus theory and apply the Lotus theory in the scheme of creation with the interpretation of Dhamma in its scientific sense. The Tāthagatas had concentrated on the study of Prakṛti (nature) and the development of mental faculties. Śākyamuni had discouraged his monks from using scents and having anything to do with women, because sex had been an obsession during his time ; so that his followers may develop their higher faculties of reasoning, judgment and the accumulation of knowledge for their own personal advancement and consequently the progress of man in his scheme of a peaceful civilisation. In a way, Gautama had provided a moral leadership to his free Janapadas (Republican States) where men had not the wisdom to differentiate between freedom and license. It is only today that we are in a position to grasp the magnitude of Śākyamuni's thinking and the implication of his transition to Dharma-cakra, which is a milestone in the spiritual development of man.

But the Vedic theories of the transmigration of soul and the inexplicable laws of Karma had encaged the minds of Śākyamuni's disciples to such an extent that they found it impossible to look to the future with the hope of better days ahead by improving themselves under the guidance of Eight Āryan paths. In an atmosphere like this, we can well imagine why the Indian disciples of Gautama presumed to preach because they were not at peace with their own mind. More because, Gautama did not have to bother himself with the ideas of crime and punishment, as he proceeded to the

very root of justice by aiming at the change of desire, which entwined the good and evil in the silent heart of man. But the followers of Gautama were made of a different stuff.

It is a mysterious complexity of our nature that the sight, sound, smell, taste and tactile sensation modify our experience to such an extent that human response becomes personal in every man's own particular way. And because nature is a stern task-mistress, Gautama's disciples went empty-handed to the house-holders and the tillers of the soil, so that their needs may be satisfied. They did not have to cultivate the fields nor produce goods nor money to buy their necessities or barter with. All they did was to pray for the people in their distress and in their need whether God listened to their petition or not. The current Vedic belief of the tree of existence with its roots in the air and its branches spreading out to the world of men under three incomprehensible Vedic steps of Viṣṇu helped the monks to support all the most fantastic figments of the peoples' fancy by the sickliest forgeries of their brain as to their deliverance, not so much from our giant self, but from the tortures of hell hereafter. The psychosis of death, which all primitive religious practices played up to the advantage of the priests, was brought into play full of thoughts of the pleasures of the paradise and the innumerable torments of hell to the total neglect of the principles of cosmic existence and its evolution preached by such leaders of thought as Buddha Kanakamuni and Kapilamuni.

Those of Śākyamuni's pupils, who claimed like the Vedic Brāhmins to define their conduct by their own code of ethics, imprisoned the unfathomable domain of their mind by making a marvel of their Master and by preaching, through the limitations of their own narrow vision, that the birth of Śākyamuni was immaculate and that his life and death were supernatural. There were no limits to the lies the stupid disciples of Gautama were telling for the glorification of the Mahāśramaṇa (Śākyamuni) in competition with their Brāhmanic contemporaries whose basic interest was their personal emolument within the recesses of their heart while outwardly they claimed to deny their pleasures. This state of affairs encouraged the lapse into monastic seclusion at the cost of the householder. At the outset, the sunshine, the productivity of the Indian soil and the underpopulation favoured the monks. But like the reckless honey-gatherers, the disciples of

Gautama plucked the surrounding flowers of Dharma-cakra that supplied the honey to the bees as much as to destroy the parent hive.

Political and social history of Gangetic India during the age of Śākyamuni

While the religious ideas went on gathering corruptions, the political situation in the Gangetic India during the age of Gautama Buddha in the middle of the sixth century B. C. seems to be in a state of flux. In our Chapters I and II we have written about the origin of the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu and the Kolīs of Rāmagāma, who were considered as the cream of nobility of the Himālayan highlands and of the Gangetic basin of northern India. Śrāvastī was the capital of the Kingdom of Kośalī and King Prasenjit ruled it. As the next door neighbour of the Kingdom of Kapilavastu King Prasenjit had married one of the daughters of a Śākya chief, who was known by the name of Mahānāma. Unduly proud of his heraldry, Mahānāma had cheated King Prasenjit by getting one of his daughters from his Vṛsalā (concubine) married to the latter. Out of this wedlock was born Virūḍhaka (Virudambha or Virudhava) the crown prince of Kośalī. The principality of Vārāṇasī had become a bone of contention between the rising power of the Mallas, the Lichhavis and King Bimbisāra of Magadha, but King Prasenjit had obtained control of the principality of Kāśī after betraying the Mallas. It was natural for the Śākya queen of Prasenjit and the ladies of the court to be influenced deeply by the teachings of Śākyamuni. It was a custom in those days to make a call on the house of the maternal uncle when such relations attained maturity. So, Virūḍhaka, the heir apparent to the throne of Kośalī as the son of King Prasenjit and the Śākya princess, went out in state to pay his respects to his maternal grand-uncle Mahānāma in the city of Kapilavastu. The Śākya chief received his grand-nephew with great pomp and ceremony and treated Virūḍhaka like a Crown Prince that he was.

But when Virūḍhaka took leave and was on his way back to Śrāvastī the aristocratic house of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu had to be purified and disinfected after its occupation and defilement by the illegitimate Prince of Kośalī and his retinue. Thus while the maid-servants were grumbling for having to carry out the ceremony of purification, one of the life-guards of Virūḍhaka had returned to fetch back the spear he had left behind in

the house of Mahānāma. This person heard the story as to the origin of the Queen Mother and of the spurious birth of Virûḍhaka from the servant girls and reported the secret to his master. At this Virûḍhaka became furious and vowed vengeance upon the Śākyas and the Kolīs as well as upon his parents.

At this interesting period, Śākyamuni had been living in Srāvastī with his kinsman Ānanda and other disciples, and intervened thrice personally to wean Virûḍhaka from attacking the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, but all to no purpose. The Mûlāsrāvastivāda-Vinaya gives a very realistic account of the climatic condition of the midland valley of Nepal at the time of the dispersal of the Śākyas and the Kolīs, and how they migrated and lived there after the attack of Virûḍhaka.

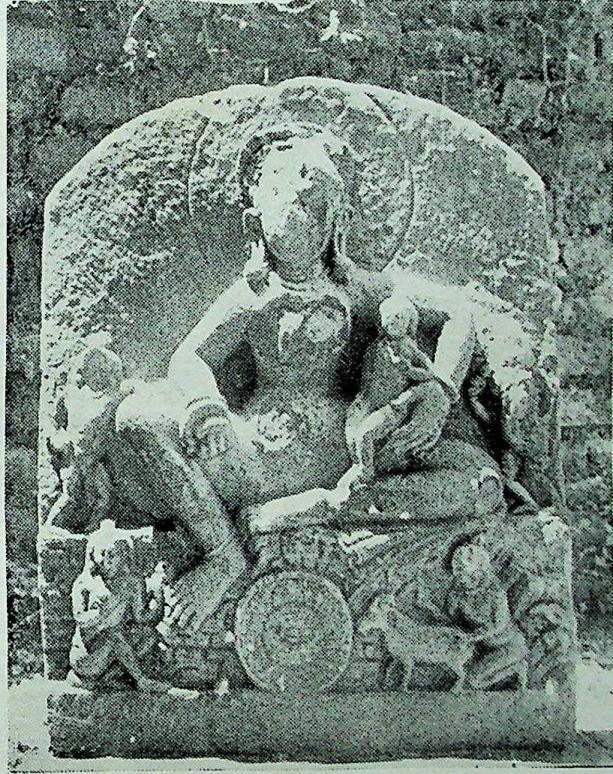
This book also says how Śākyamuni sent his kinsman Ānanda to visit the Śākyas in the valley of Nepal and what the religious atmosphere was like up there. The Nepalese chronicles confirm that during the reign of the Kirānti King Jitādasti, Śākya Simha Buddha came into Nepal along with Ānanda. The occurrence of the word Kolī-grāma and the organisation of the Śākyas and of the Kolīs into eighteen guilds—(as sculptors, painters, literati, wood-workers, smiths, ivory-workers etc.) in our Lichhavi inscriptions conclusively prove that the conditions before, during and after the passing away of Śākyamuni were practically the same. With the dismemberment of the Kingdoms of the Kolīs and the Śākyas the political power of the Kirāntas of the hills appears to have increased considerably. Despite the garblings at the hands of the Buddhistic and the Brāhmanic scribes with their own prejudices, the Kirāntas play increasingly big role in the political horizon of the Indo-Āryan epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata.

To return to the political condition of the Gangetic India, Virûḍhaka had also vowed vengeance against his parents because of their unequal marriage and for giving him a spurious birth. King Prasenjit had now become old and had also lost the backing of the Mallas. The defection of the Crown-prince Virûḍhaka had weakened his cause still further. In his desperation, King Prasenjit thought of Śākyamuni and proceeded to meet him in Śrāvastī accompanied by his so far faithful commander-in-chief Kārāyaṇa. As the old King approached the hermitage of Śākyamuni, he

divested himself of his crown and sword and also left his wife and retinue behind, when he proceeded all by himself to have a conference with the Mahāśramaṇa on the political situation that had suddenly developed. Back from his conference with Śākyamuni, King Prasenjit was sorry to find his wife deserted and sorely grieving all by herself. For, Kārāyaṇa had observed the brand of Vṛsalā (illegitimate issue) on the arms of his Queen and had deserted them to join the rebel forces of their son Virûḍhaka. In pursuance of this ancient custom the tribes of the Thārus and their women in the Tarei region of Nepal brand themselves on their arms with hot iron bearing special markings as a matter of their tonsure even to our own day. Defeated by his growing age and by the desertion of his followers, King Prasenjit decided to throw himself under the protection of his nephew King Ajātaśatru, who had presently succeeded to the throne of King Bimbisāra in Magadha.

It is necessary for us to remove the basic and far-reaching errors, distortions and half-truths that have crept into the history of Nepal written largely by the aliens and sectarians. While the Śākyas and the Kolîs had settled down peacefully under the protecting arms of King Jitādasti in the midland vales of the Himālayas, the old King of Kośalî and his Śākyan wife walked for miles and miles under the heat of Indian plains on their way to Rājgrha. There was rivalry between King Ajātaśatru and King Pradyota of Avanti (present Mālwa) with the steady rise of the political power of the Mālava tribes. There was vigilance all around and Ajātaśatru had found himself forced to protect the capital of Magadha by additional defences and night curfews. On the day King Prasenjit and his Queen reached Rājgrha, the main entrance to the capital was closed for the night. The old King succumbed to the rigour of the journey and with the dawn of the day on the following morning, when King Ajātaśatru and his Vai-dehî Queen Vajrā received the news of the august arrivals, it was already too late. When King Ajātaśatru and his wife proceeded in state to receive their old uncle and aunt, they were shocked to find the Śākyan Queen weeping bitterly over the lifeless body of King Prasenjit. There was nothing there but to erect a wooden pyre and cremate the body of King Prasenjit, who had all the secrets of the rising Mālava tribes (Mallas) and his own dissident son. We thus see that the dismemberment of the Kingdom of

Plate No. VII



A common representation of Hû-ša (Ajimā, Umā) as the Nepalese counterpart of Queen Jocasta and the mother of Virûpākṣa (Oedipus).

Kapilavastu and of Kośala had a far-reaching effect upon the history of Northern India. The defeated Kirāntas were rising as factors in the Himālayan highlands. King Ajātaśatru took advantage of the quarrel between King Prasenjit and Virūḍhaka to occupy Kośalī and move its capital from Śrāvastī to Śāketa (present city of Ayodhyā) on the bank of river Sarayū. The Mālava tribes with the cognomen Malla were now threatening Magadha while the Śākas were rising as political factors in Seistan, who were defacto rulers in lieu of the de-jure Persian sovereigns. Strategically situated the new city of Śāketa on the banks of Sarayū formed by the confluence of the rivers Gaṇḍakī and Karṇālī became the converging point of the East and the West in place of Śrāvastī. And all this had happened while Śākyamuni was still alive.

Before the Great Passing of Śākyamuni the Nepalese chronicle quaintly remarks without giving any reason that, as Rājā Jitādasti did not return from the wars recounted in Mahābhārata, his son Gālī ascended the throne. But more important than the accounts of the dynastic struggles among the various rival tribes for their supremacy of the Gangetic India, are the Yakṣa legends of Virūpākṣha and Hū-ṣa and the Jātaka Aṭṭakathās that were building up in the Himālayas against the mental attitude displayed by Virūḍhaka and such persons who called themselves Indo-Āryans. These stories bring to light the concept of society and the mental struggle between the Āryan and the non-Āryan world, specially because the Greek tragedian Sophocles had also indited the legend of Oedipus and Jocasta in revulsion at the knowledge that such a mother-son relationship was not frowned upon in non-Āryan Egypt. It is most interesting to note that, after the epitaph of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase, the story of Hū-ṣa and Virūpākṣha becomes absorbed in the cult of Paśupati and of the Great Mother Goddess in its scheme of the astro-psychic cycle of Death known as Kāla-cakra vis-vis Dharma-Cakra. It is for this reason that the Nepalese chronicles skip over the political achievements of the Kīrānti kings Puṣhka, Suyarma, Parba, Bunka and Swananda till they come to King Thunko (Sthunko), who was the contemporary of Aśoka.

There are the Śaivite, the Buddhistic and the Indo-Āryan versions of the Yakṣa story of Virūpākṣha as follows :

1. The Śaivite version

A very ancient half-figure of Virûpākṣha triumphant,—with the Third Eye of Inner Illumination and with his erect genital level with his navel in the presence of a squatting Mṛga (gazelle), and his mother Hû-ṣa dressed in skin Zābmā (skirt) sitting upon a lotus throne and holding the adamantine jewel on the open palm of her right hand as a Tārā,—occurs in a temple known as Mṛgasthali by the bank of river Vāgwatî to the north-east of the main temple of Paśupati.

Our legend has it that this Virûpākṣha was born out of the womb of the ogress Hû-ṣa with long ears following the curse of the Himālayan gods. For, Hû-ṣa had the evil habit of alluring merchants visiting Suvarṇabhûmî for their trade in gold, of enjoying their company and of killing them as soon as new merchants appeared on the scene. This practice of Hû-ṣa angered the Himālayan gods and they cursed her to the effect that she would beget a son, who would cohabit with her. When Virûpākṣya was born and grew up to be twelve years of age, the Himālayan God Śiva out of compassion for him, foretold his destiny. At this Virûpākṣha wandered away from home in order to avoid the venality of the curse. But after years of wandering in foreign lands, the dictate of destiny brought the mother and the son together under the roof of an inn and the two committed adultery unwittingly. And when they woke up the following morning, they discovered their mistake. Stung with compunction they visited several Pīṭhas and Śiva-liṅgas, practised Yogas and performed Yajñas for years and years together, but all to no purpose. One day they wandered into the forest of Sleshmāntaka, where they saw a Golden Gazelle frolicking with his herd. At the sight of Virûpākṣha the Golden Gazelle returned to its heels and the guilty Mother and her son followed till they reached the brink of a deep well. The Golden Deer jumped headlong into the well followed by Hû-ṣa and Virûpākṣha. As they reached the bottom of the well, the Mother and the son were absolved from their curse and all the three became petrified to be there for ever, so that they may redeem mankind ever afterwards. Thus the squatting Gazelle, the above-described Virûpākṣha and his Mother Hû-ṣa as the Tārā represent for us the eternal principle in our struggle for liberation

from the bondage of the Golden Gazelle and from the Virûpākṣha (Oedipus) complex whether in our life or after our death.

We have briefly taken up historically the origin of the race of Suvarṇa-gotra (Golden race), of the Suvarṇa-bhûmî or Strî-rājya (Gold-country and the Kingdom of women) in Chapter I. This information would be of tremendous significance for explaining the origin of the Golden races of the Kirāntas and the Śakas and how they formed themselves progressively from period to period.

Mention of Virûpākṣha in some of the earliest Buddhistic texts :

One of the earliest Buddhist texts known as Mahā-samaya-suttanta (Rhys Davids Dialogue of the Buddha ii. 284) describes how all the gods of ten thousand world-systems gathered themselves to pay reverence to Śākyamuni in the forest of Kapilavatthu, which is now identified with the ruins of Tilaurākoṭ (not Piprahavā) in the Bhairavā district of Western Nepal at the foot of the Mācchāpuchré (the famous fish-tail mountain) and the Annapurnā Himālayas. Dhattaratha—King of the East, VIRULHAKA—king of the South, VIRÛPAKṢHA—king of the west, and KUIVERA—king of the North arrive with their Yakṣha hosts and all their vassals to pay respects to Śākyamuni. Another list of the same description is to be found in the still more ancient Buddhist text of Atanatiya.

These priestly attempts to gather Virulhaka, Virupakṣha, Dhattaratha and Kuvera at the feet of Śākyamunî so early only point to the conclusion that immediately after the Great Passing the astropsychic cycle of Death known as Kāla-cakra had become operative. We have already seen how the story of Hû-ṣa and Virûpākṣha had been absorbed in the cult of Paśupati. Finally, when the idea of the four kings had been exported to South-East-Asia and China, these very kings had been represented in all shapes and sizes as Dikpālas (the guards of the four cardinal compass corners) and venerated as such.

The occurrence of Virûpākṣha as the King of demons in the Indo-Āryan epic of Mahābhārata :

The Indo-Āryan epic of Mahābhārata Śāntiparvam (Āpaddharmmaparvānî 170/24 and 171/19, 20, 21 and 22) mentions Virûpākṣha as one of

the most powerful kings of the Rākṣhasas (demons), who belonged to the Golden race of the Gold country. Virûpākṣha had such a vast quantity of gold in his Gañja (treasury) that he gave away the golden utensils, on which he feasted the close-fisted Brāhmins, to carry with them home in the way of his gift. Then, too, Virûpākṣha occurs in the inscriptions of the South Indian Kings, but we do not find the story of his transformation through the cult of Hû-ṣa, Éka-jaṭā and Tārā, as in the case of Nepal.

The stories of Virûḍhaka and Virûpakṣha reveal how new marriage and family relationships had emerged with the miscegenation of the proto-Āryan Gold races and the Indo-Āryan sons of androgynous Brahmā. Marriage and family relations are component parts of a given social order ; and the ancient Himālayan countries seem to be obsessed by sex. For, the early Buddhist scriptures, in addition to making references to the eighteen guilds of artisans, also impose punishments on sexual intercourse with the images of the goddesses. We have already seen how Śākyamuni provided a moral leadership, but the conundrum of Pṛakṛti (Nature) and Puruṣa (the Supreme Being) or whether the bird came first or its egg, still remained unsolved and until this contradiction of our existence was solved, it was impossible to get rid of the sin-complex inherent in man. The story of Virûpākṣha and Hû-ṣa, such as we have related, does not seem to imply just a sex taboo, which accounts for the specific venality of Sophoclean tragedy of Oedipus and Jocasta. None of the thinkers, whether they pursued the ancient cult of Yoga and Yogic perception, or believed blindly in the Vedic Revelations or in the mathematical model of the Sāṃkhya-system of philosophy were able to give a complete picture of the astrò-physical Universe, or explain the mystery of the astropsychic cycle of death. No body seems to have encountered the Almighty God in course of his life, nor anybody was resurrected from Moheñjodāro or from his corpse to tell us what lay beyond the pall of Death. We have already pointed out how the Brahmajālaśūta gives a true picture of the dilemma of the period. But Paśupati and the nude Mother Goddess of Fertility had survived with all the symbols of the Phallus and the “ Yonî ” to give their message of the first vowel Om (ॐ) as the basic concept of “ Yuga-naddha ” (Two in one).

Unable, like the modern scientists to account for the birth and the death of the stars by their theory of nucleogenesis, the Pāsupat Yogins, after the Great Passing of Śākyamuni, appear to have seized on the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph and turned inwards to rationalise the story of Virûpākṣha and Hû-ṣa by associating it with the psychological vision of Ékajaṭā and Tārā for a further research into the mysteries of the astro-psychic cycle of death in about 480 B. C. It is necessary to point out in this connection that this cult of Tārā or Ékajaṭā (Ardhanārīśvara) is not an androgynous Hermaphroditis nor a homosexual Brahmā, but a Tārā with the adamantine jewel, who helps us to cross the river of existence.

Comparison of the Buddhist Daśaratha Jātaka contained in the Pāli Aṭṭakathā Jātaka Story No. 461 and the Indo-Aryan epic of Rāmāyaṇa composed by the Kauśikan saint Vālmiki :

Both the Buddhistic Jātaka stories and the Kauśikan epic of Rāmāyaṇa composed by the Brāhmanic saint Vālmiki agree that Rāmā and Lakṣmaṇa were the sons of King Daśaratha. But while the Brāhmanic epic writer Vālmiki shrouds the origin of the heroine Sitā in mystery by making her the daughter of the philosopher King Janaka of Videha by adoption, the Pāli Aṭṭakathā says that Sitā was also the daughter of Daśaratha and, therefore, King Rāma's uterine sister. According to the version of Pāli Aṭṭakathā, the junior Queen (Keyakī in the case of Vālmiki's epic of Rāmāyaṇa) in fulfilment of the vows of King Daśaratha to her, asked the King twice or thrice to crown her junior issue King in lieu of the first born heir-apparent Rāma. At this insinuation of the junior Queen, King Daśaratha confided in Rāma that he apprehended intrigues from his step-mother and that he should retire to the forest till such time as the old king passed away, and then return to assume the reins of Government in the capital. Following their father's advice, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa betook themselves to the forest accompanied by their sister Sitā. And after the death of their father, the three returned to their kingdom as advised, Rāma married his sister Sitā; and Rāma and Sitā reigned as King and Queen happily till they lived. According to the version of Pāli Aṭṭakathā Rāma and Sitā seem to be born from the same parents. This is only a quotation from Pāli Aṭṭakathā and not from the epic of Rāmāyaṇa by saint Valmiki. There are ample evidences

of consanguineous marriage among the Koli and Śākya tribes on account of the Semitic influences on their culture. We have already seen how the story of Virūpakṣha and Hū-ṣa tend to the same conclusion.

Judging from the marriage of Arundhatī to the seven Vedic saints (Saptarṣis) and of Pāncālī (Draupadi from Pāncāla presently comprising the Uttar Pradesh of India) to the five Pāndavas of the epic of Mahābhārata, polyandry and inter-caste marriages seem to be common in Northern India. There was nothing unfair or irrational in marital and family relationships. A comparative study of the Buddhistic Jātaka story and the Brāhmanic epic of Rāmāyaṇa will show how the marriage and family system changed in process of time.

A comparative study of the Rāma-jātaka of the Aṭṭakathā and the story of Sitā and Rāma in the Brāhmanic epic of Rāmāyaṇa :

Like Sophocles in Greece the Kauśikan saint Vālmiki appears to have regarded with revulsion at the brother-sister marriage among the upper castes, though he seems to have looked with equanimity on the polyandry of Tārā with Sugriva and Bālī and also in the case of Mandodarī with Rāvaṇa and Vibhiṣana³⁶ : The Rāma-jātaka, as we have already seen, does not relate the story of Rāma's adventure to the south of the Daṇḍaka forests (Daṇḍakāraṇya), his friendship with the monkey chief Sugriva and Hanumāna and Rāma's battle with Rāvaṇa—the ten-headed demon King of Laṅkā (Ceylon) for the rescue of Sitā. The antiquity of the Jātaka story may be realised from the fact that it is depicted in bas-relief No. 14 of the stūpa of Bhārhut (c. 150 B.C.). Writing about this Jātaka story, Mr. Maurice Winternitz, in his "History of Indian literature Vol. II p 143 says : "The consolatory verses of Rāma in the Daśaratha Jātaka No. 461 were probably taken from the old Rāma ballad (Read Vol. I page 508 ff. on Chinese Buddhist versions of Daśaratha Jātaka and the Rāma story Vol. I page 513). The Rāma-jātaka of the Aṭṭakathā No. 540 shows how the son of a forest-dwelling hermit was committing adultery with a roe-deer and how King Daśaratha killed him by mistake and how finally the young boy was resuscitated by the truthfulness of his sorrow-stricken parents. On the other hand, in the epic of Rāmāyaṇa, King Daśaratha tells on his death-bed after his separation with Rāma how he killed the

Brāhmanic boy Śhravana Kumāra in the act of his adultery with a roe-deer and how the parents of the boy cursed him to the effect that the King was doomed to die from the pangs of separation from his son. In all these ancient stories we find sex hunger as the strongest motive in inducing a sense of guilt and conflict, for which the Brāhmanic remedy was worse than the disease. I have personally seen the Thāru community of the Morang district of Eastern Nepal sing and perform the story of the old Rāma ballad with great gusto and that the old *Nanda ballads* seem to be as popular as the Rāma ballads with them. I have been told that the Dañoria and the Chitabaniā Thārus of the Gaṇḍakī river valleys sing and act the Rāma and the Nanda ballads with greater faithfulness to the pristine themes than the Thāru tribes of other parts of Nepal.

Mr. Oldenberg has compared the epical tales of Rāmāyaṇa with the Jātaka stories of Rāma ballads to show that the Buddhistic Jātakas have related the stories with greater simplicity and less subtlety and that the epical stories of Rāmāyaṇa were composed much later than the stories of the Daśaratha Jātaka. However, there is no doubt that the Rāma ballads were composed very much earlier than the period of the historical Buddhas. For, Rāmāgāma, the home of the Kolīs, is mentioned in Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra and lay, according to Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, at 200 li (km. 80) to the east of Kapilavastu. How that the ruins of Tilaurākoṭ have been identified with Kapilavastu and that Lumbinī stands midway between Kapilavastu and Rāmāgāma, all the disputes as to the situation of Rāmāgāma can be shelved for good and all. More because, the name Kolī-grāma for Kathmandu and the specific mention of their eighteen guilds of artisans in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal also settle the question where the illustrious tribes of the Śākya and the Kolīs went up for protection after the attack of Virūdhaka, which again confirms the story of Mūlasarvāstivādinaya. But the fact remains that the Kauśikan saint Vālmiki appears to have wrenched the original story of the Rāma ballad to the advantage of the Brāhmins by shrouding the origin of the heroine Sitā in mystery and by laying the scene of the marriage of Sitā and Rāma in Mithilā (Janakpur), which was the forte of Brāhmanic reaction. The breaking of the Pināka bow of Siva-Tripurāntaka by Rāma as the seventh incarnation of Viśhṇu is another Kauśikan fabrication to advance the cause of their cult

at the expense of the cult of Śiva Tripurāntaka. The story of the Kauśikan epic of Rāmāyaṇa is a standing example of how the ancient Rāma-ballad of the Gaṇḍakī valley was metamorphosed by the magic want of poet Vālmiki to change the social history of the Kauśikans. On the whole, the Rākṣasas (demons) and Rakṣasīs (demonesses) of the Brāhmanic epics and legends are more sinned against than sinning.

The Great Passing (Mahāparinirvāṇa) of Śākyamuni :

According to the universally accepted tradition, Śākyamuni was born in Lumbini on 544 B.C., left his home-town of Kapilavastu at the age of 29, obtained the Bodhi at the age of 35 years and passed away at Kuśinārā (Kasia) in 464 B.C. when he was returning home to Kapilavastu after life's long journey of eighty years. Peoples of all countries have preserved the haloed memory of the Great Passing by sculpturing images of the Sleeping Buddha according to their understanding of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūta in their own particular way. After the demise of Gautama, the traditional accounts of the death and cremation grew up from simple beginnings to the legendary tales of later texts as time rolled by. When the news spread there was a dispute among the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kolis of Rāmagāma, the Brāhmins of Veṭhadīpo and the Mallas of Kuśinagara and Pāvā for the possession of the ashes of Śākyamuni. At this, a Brāhmin known by the name of Droṇa intervened in the quarrel and divided the ashes into eight equal parts and had them enshrined in eight stūpas at the following places :

1. Rājgrha, 2. Vaiśālī, 3. Kapilavastu, 4. Allakappa, 5. Rāmagāma, 6. Veṭhadīpo, 7. Pāvā, 8. Kuśinārā.

According to the Mahāparinirvāṇasūta of Dīghanikāya the ashes of Śākyamuni enshrined in the stūpa of Rāmagāma were removed to Ceylon. The Dīpa-vaṃśa, the Mahāvaṃśa, and the Thupavaṃśa in Pāli language contain the following story :

“ Under the instruction of Sthavira Mahākāśyapa, King Ajātaśatru unearthed the mortal remains of Gautama from Vaiśālī, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Veṭhadīpaka, Pāvā and Kuśinārā and had them enshrined by building a major stūpa to the south-east of Magadha's capital of Rājgrha. ” We have seen how the first Indian King that Śākyamuni met was Bimbisāra

(544-493 B.C.) and how his son Ajātaśatru (493-462 B.C.) had built great halls, Mahāvihāras and Buddhist relic-shrines in his capital but none of them exist today. For, Śākyamuni had often stayed in the Gridhrakūṭa (Vulture's Hill) east of the old town. This ancient city is so full of the memory of Śākyamuni's life that the Chinese people have preserved its memory in China as well. So far as the advice of Mahā-Kāśyapa to King Ajātaśatru is concerned, it is necessary to point out here that, according to most of the texts, Mahā-Kāśyapa came from Pāpā or Pāvā (Pawāyā) to Kuśinagara, when he heard of the death of Gautama. According to Fa-hsien's version of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, Mahā-Kāśyapa was at Dakṣiṇagiri, south of Rājgṛha; according to the Vinaya of Mahāsāṃghikā, followed by the Mahāvastu (Waldschmidt pp 285-289), Mahā-Kāśyapa was on the Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vulture Hill of Rājgṛha). No ancient texts seem to agree. In our Nepalese tradition Kāśyapas can be bracketed with the Śakas and the Khasas. The Khāsti or the Khasa-caitya (vulgo Bodha-nath) is dedicated to the memory of Buddha Kāśyapa.

Both Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang claim to have seen Aśokan pillars at Rāmagāma and Śrāvastī, but they have not been discovered so far. Of the greatest historical importance, if we take everything together, is the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph as a practical sequel to the landmark of the Eight-spoked Wheel of Dharma-cakra, which heralded another millennia of the astropsychic cycle of Death known as Kāla-cakra.

CHAPTER IV

The invasion of Alexander the Great and the spread of the Greek influence over India.

At the end of Chapter I, we have referred to the invasion of Alexander the Great (327-326 B.C.) on Trans-Oxonia immediately on reaching the foot of the Hindukush mountains. Only later on, when his rear was safe from the depredations of the rising power of the Śākas, did Alexander return on his steps to the south of the Hindukush mountains to lead the Macedonian phalanxes into the vast plains of the Punjab. The victories of Alexander created a new world situation, but the real political power that was rising in the horizon of Asia was that of the Śākas and the Śaka-Pahlavas, of whom we have given adequate account in our assessment of the Akhaemenian inscriptions. The duration of the Greek rule after the invasion of Alexander in what is constituted by the Kingdom of Afghanistan and the bordering satrapies is a disputed matter. There are wide differences of opinion on this matter, the Indian historians believing that it lasted a couple of centuries and competent international scholars believing that it lasted only a couple of years. The choice is between the Greek sovereignty and Indian sovereignty, both of which were, perhaps, nominal.

The confusion was created by the interpretation put by scholars to a passage occurring in Pliny (Hist. Nat VI 20) giving a list of the Hindu peoples and serving to justify the statement that some of them are on the right bank of the river Indus (Sindhu). Secondly, no political body is mentioned as confronting the Hindus, but mention is made of the Aryans. This may be either a population of the Indo-Aryans or the mention of the country of Ariana for Afghanistan, even as the Afghans do it even to our own day. This brief statement does not offer a reliable element for forming a judgment. Evidently, Pliny is not writing of a political division, but rather of a geographical and ethnical division. For one thing, after the invasion of the Indo-Aryans they had imposed their language on all the peoples, whether purely of Aryan or mixed-Aryan origin, and all of them styled them-

selves as Aryans. Śākyamuni speaks of his teachings as “ Ariya aṭṭa aṅgiko muggo ” (Aryan eight paths). We have already pointed out in previous chapters how the expressions “ Himavant ” for the Himālayas and “ Āryāvarta ” (country of the Aryans) owe their origin to Śākyamuni.

We have also seen how this boast of Aryan heraldry among the Śākya of Kapilavastu led to the attack of Virūdhaka and the dismemberment of the kingdoms of the Śākya and the Kolis. History repeated itself in the case of King Chandra Gupta Maurya who had to flee from his home of Rājgrha because the legitimate members of the Nanda dynasty under the inspiration of the Vedic Brāhmins rejected his claim to the throne of Magadha on account of his spurious birth from Murā whom they branded as Vṛsalā (impure or illegitimate woman coming from outside the pale of Brāhmanic heraldry). After the death of King Ajātaśatru in about 462 B.C. King Udayin and King Muṇḍa and the prominent members of the Nanda dynasty appear to have reverted back to the boast of Vedic heraldry and to the pomp of purely Vedic and barbaric sacrifices such as Aśvamedha and Mahāpurusayajña in which every limb of the sacrificial horse or the human victim was spread on the Vedic altar to add to the long life, prosperity and glory of the Chakravartin (the world conqueror).³⁸ All the good works of Śākyamuni, Kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru were forgotten on the morrow. Disgusted with these developments Chandra Gupta Maurya collected an army of the Himālayan Kirāntas (Arattas of Megasthenes) and proceeded to liberate the Punjab from the Greek conquerors. Claiming his origin from the Himālayan Moriyas (Mauryas) of Pipphalivana, he made himself popular as a nationalist leader in North India and returned to have his revenge on the last Nanda King of Magadha (c. 323 B.C.).

In the context of the geographical and ethnical division of the tribes and Chandra Gupta's subsequent relations with Selucos Nikator the following passage from Strabo seems to be decisive :

“ The order of the peoples is the following : near the Indus the Paropamisadae, above whom looms Mount Parpamisus; then, in sequence the Gedrosians with all the others, who inhabit the sea-coast to the south ; the Indus flows by all these in the horizontal direction of the countries (mentioned). The Hindus detain some of these (lands), parts of which

are in the vicinity of the Indus and which formerly belonged to the Persians. These lands were taken by Alexander from the Arians, who made (there) some settlements of his own, and Selucos Nikator gave them to Sandrokkottus (Chandragupta) entering into nuptial ties and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants."

Thus we see that Ariana (Aria) and the other satrapies were independent countries under the nominal rule of Macedonian Satraps (Kṣetrapas-Viceroy) Scholars of international standing and fame of the basis of numismatical and other archaeological evidences obtained in Ghazni and Bagram have established that these countries were ruled by the Śaka-Pahlavas, and, in all probability, the last Greek King Hermeus was succeeded by Azes I, who was a Śaka-Pahlava King. It was a branch of these very Śaka peoples who became masters of the Himālayas with the cognomen Varmma after the second dynasty of the Kirāntas, mentioned in Nepalese chronologies.

To return to the Empire of Chandra Gupta Maurya after the above-quoted treaty with Selucos Nikator I in 304 B.C., we find a great broadening of the intellectual horizon. The mighty Akhaemenian Empire of the Persian Emperors had disintegrated, but the Greeks and the Indians continued to associate Imperial pomp and power with everything Persian. A Greek princess sat upon the throne of Pāṭaliputra and a Selucid Embassy was established under Megasthenes, who left behind immortal records for the understanding of the Mauryan Empire. Although the Brāhmanic writers give the credit of the success of Chandra Gupta Maurya to the Brāhmanic diplomat Viṣṇu Gupta Chāṇakya—who was himself educated in the University of Taxila—yet the works he has left behind does not show the vision and breadth of Aristotle who contributed so much to the success of Alexander the Great. From the Greek princess and the Greek statesmen, Chandra Gupta Maurya appears to have learnt much of his statecraft.

Persian emigrants, political refugees, scholars and artists appear to have vied with the Greek artists, artisans, merchants, dramatists and dancers for their pride of position at the Imperial court of Pāṭaliputra. The shrewd Kauṭilya appears to have organised special Government Department with adequate secret service served by women for the accommoda-

tion and supervision of the foreigners. As for the genesis of the Mauryan style of architecture, Strabo reports that the palaces of Pāṭaliputra compared very favourably with the Royal residences of the Persian kings at Susā and Ekbatanā. The excavations of Waddell and Spooner have brought to light the remnants of a hall, similar to the Hundred Pillar Hall of Darius I at Persepolis. Eminent excavators and research-workers have written volumes on the art, architecture and sculpture of the period to need further mention in our brief sketch of the Mauryan court.

It is not possible to accept the wild speculation of some historians to the effect that Chandra Gupta Maurya extended his kingdom, firstly from Magadha to Taxila, and after defeating Diodochus Selucos Nikator I (Śailākṣya) in the battle of the Hindukush mountains, he occupied Herāt to carry his boundary as far as the river Amu-Daria. There is, also, no evidence to show that he had conquered any part of the Himavant ruled by the Kirāntas. The Nepalese chronologies are silent on the subject. The evidences of Megasthenes and Kauṭilya prove that the Kirāntas were the allies of the Mauryas. Definitely, the Jambudvīpa of the Mauryas did not embrace the Himavant of Śākyamuni. We have already seen how the Śākyas and the Kolīs took refuge under king Jitādasti in Nepal after the dismemberment of their kingdoms of Kapilavastu and Rāmagāma at the hands of Virūdhaka.

Chandra Gupta Maurya reigned for 24 years. As a far-sighted statesman he had realised that Gautama Buddha had given a cultural unity to northern India. Although we find prominent Brāhmins in his court, yet he does not seem to be inspired by the Brāhmanic ideas of caste to denounce the Greeks as Yavanas, and the Kirāntas and the Śākas as the Mlecchas (people coming from outside the pale of Vedic culture). If the Vedic Brāhmins worshipped Viṣṇu, he did not reject the non-Vedic Gods of the Kirāntas and Śākas like Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha. He had translated the nationalistic dreams of Kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru into a concrete reality from the narrow atmosphere of the Vedic Indo-Aryans.

Chandra Gupta Maurya was succeeded by his son Vindusāra. If Chandra Gupta married a Greek princess, Vindusāra appears to have married a Śaka Princess by recognising the Śākas as *Kṣatriyas*. Though this act of Vindusāra gives a slight edge to the rise of Brāhmanic influ-

ence in his court, yet he does not appear to have shunned his Moriyān (Mauryan) heraldry in favour of the fantastic Brāhmanic genealogy from the four-headed androgynous creator Brahmā. But the most important element is the rise of the political power of the Śakas, who seem to be contending with the Mauryas and the subsequent Indian kings for their supremacy in India. The Indian historians are of the opinion that Vindusāra transmitted his sceptre to his son and successor Aśoka in 273 B.C. But still we cannot account for the gap of four years between Aśoka's accession and his annointment. Some historians think that the death of King Vindusāra was followed by a civil war. Mr P. L. Eggermont explains away this interval as an attempt on Aśoka's part at harmonising two conflicting traditions.

In order to dramatise Aśoka's self-reformation the Indian and the Ceylonese chronicles grossly exaggerate in depicting Aśoka as a monster of cruelty, who took special pleasures in animal and blood-thirsty sacrificial rituals as a follower of the Vedic creed and who blindly followed the metaphysical spell and the Vedic hymns, and who waded through the blood of all his brothers, except the youngest one on his way to the throne. They also say that, in his early years, he was a devotee of the Himālayan God Śiva even as the Śākyas had been of Iśvaradeva (Yakṣa Śākyavardhana). It is the common practice of all sectarians to advance the cause of their faiths and beliefs at the expense of the others for their own particular interest. We might, therefore, attribute these stories to the partisan-spirit of the Pali-scribes of the kingdom of Magadha, who tried to advertise the superiority of Hinayāna faith above the Śaivite and the Vedic religious principles and practices.

The religious and social condition of India during the reign of the Mauryas :

Before we take up the achievements of Aśoka the Great, it is necessary to make a brief review of the religious and social atmosphere of Northern India and the adjoining countries from the standpoint of human values, which appear to me very much more important than the architectural monuments the Mauryan Emperors created during their regime. In an atmosphere surcharged by the religious norms of many races, Aśoka deserves credit for humanising the conduct of his administration by a queer

combination of spirituality, politics and morality which were not understood by the masses of the common people. Aśoka's war in Kāliṅga (Orissa) was a conflict in the minds of men, and he became profoundly impressed by the horrors which proved necessary in suppressing a revolt engineered by men with a different frame of mind from that of the Mauryan clan. He now saw it clear how wrong it was to try to suppress the will of people by military confrontation and returned to Śakyamuni's transition to Dharma-cakra-pravartana for the real solution. He preached the ethics of Śakyamuni's Aryan eight paths in twenty-five edicts, engraved on rocks and pillars, appointed Dharmamahāmātras (special ministers) to look after the moral condition of the people, to discourage the Vedic sacrifices and to encourage charitable institutions with a real will to ameliorate the conditions of the people. Aśoka is also credited to have built 84,000 religious foundations of all descriptions known as Dharmarājikā; which seem to be entirely different from the Dhārmarājikās in Nepal's scheme of the cycle of the cult of the stūpa. Aśoka took advantage of his foreign relations to send Missionaries to Ceylon, Burma and even to the Hellenistic kingdoms of the Mediterranean where Buddhism became a civilising force side by side with other religious beliefs. But while the foreign countries appreciated and assimilated the five points of Buddhism, the Vedic Brāhmins in his own homeland vehemently opposed Aśoka by misinterpreting the title of "Piyadasi" as being tantamount to that of a fool, and by inventing the legend that the Vedic God Viṣṇu, in response to the supplication of the Vedic God Indra, had approached this king of their Daityas (demons) for the gift of THREE STEPS of land and defeated the latter by his magic-mystic subterfuge. As already pointed out, this aberration of the Vedic Three Steps was the most powerful instrument in the hands of the intelligent Brāhmins to impose upon the credulity of the Indian peoples for their own selfish interests. During the reign of the last Mauryan kings, the Brāhmanic priest Pātañjali appears to see the virtue of the Yogic practices, to the neglect of the historical background of the Yakṣa legend of Virūpākṣa (Virūpākṣha), who, like all the deities of other faiths, was condemned to be the King of Rākṣhasas (demons). In order to make the contradiction more glaring, it is this protagonist of Yoga (self-discipline namely, Pātañjali) who has accused the last of the Mauryan Kings

for having sold the Śaivite images. With all his interest in Yoga and Yogic practices, Pātanjali also betrays the ignorance of the basic principles of the astropsychic cycle of Death known as Kāla-cakra.

We have already seen how the Brāhmanic world had manipulated the story of the Daśaratha-jātaka to bring about irrational marital and family relationships based on the combined control of theocratic state power, caste-power and the power of the patriarch and the husband over his wives as sinful and inferior beings to the utter neglect of the interests of the legitimate and the illegitimate children. The Kauśik Brāhmins, who represented Vedic orthodoxy, were opposed to the adoption of Buddhism by Aśoka who propagated the idea of "Dharma" as the Buddhistic world understood it in and through his various edicts. As in the case of Virûḍhaka during the age of Gautama Buddha, the Brāhmins attacked the Mauryas for their illegitimate birth from Murā on the condemnation of the Nanda dynasty. On the other hand, the Mauryas tried to enhance their social prestige by tracing their origin to the Himālayan tribes of the Moriyas of Pippalivana, who were equal in social status to the Śakyas of Kapilavastu and the Kolīs of Rāmagāma. They also tried to broaden the basis of human society by marrying a Greek Princess, whom the Brāhmins attacked as an "Yabanî." We have seen how the Yakṣīs, the Kinnarīs, the Śabarīs and all the beautiful Himālayan Śaka and Tartar girls had no difficulty in entering into marital relationship with the members of the Indo-Aryan families. In the family relationship of the Himālayan tribes we have also pointed out how it was being influenced by the Semitic concept of consanguineous marriage system. In fact, all the Himālayan tribes, such as the Kirāntas, the Kolīs, the Śakyas, the Moriyas, the Śakas, the Kasas, the Khasas and the Ābhiras were the offsprings of mixed marriages between Indo-Aryans and the non-Aryans. The uniting bond was the Aryan language. Nevertheless the pronominalised languages of the ancient tribes of the Kirāntas and the Thāru community show that they are the present descendants of the ancient Himālayan tribes.

The Rāpatī valley on the banks of River Gaṇḍakī is the home of the purest breed of the Thārus, and it is among them that we find,—even to our own day,—girls with the most classical feature, haunting almond eyes, golden hair and wearing ornaments, which answer to the ancient basre-

liefs of Girijā, Mahāmāyā, Yaśodharā and all the hostesses of the Yakṣis and the Kinaarīs of the ancient world. Condemned to be segregated as low castes by the Brāhmanic laws and customs, the lowest castes of the Himālayan peoples have preserved the purity of their breed better than the upper castes, the lines of whose feature betray their ethnic origin.

The historical perspective gets clear, when we look into the religious social and political picture of the Jambudvīpa of the most reactionary Suṅga dynasty after the downfall of the glorious house of the progressive Maurya dynasty of India. Puṣhya Mitra was a commander-in-chief of the last of the Mauryan kings. This man betrayed the dynasty of the Mauryas, overthrew the latter and made Sāketa (Ayodhyā) the capital of his kingdom of Magadha in lieu of the Mauryan capital of Pāṭaliputra. It is believed that poet Vālmiki—the author of the later version of Rāmāyaṇa,—was a preceptor at his court. It was this person, who used the immortal name of Rāma and Sitā in the context of a feudal Indo-Aryan society, which left no scope for free choice of partners in Hindu India and thus defeated Aśoka's noble attempts to harmonise the two conflicting traditions of the Kauśikī and the Gaṇḍakī river valleys.

The testimony of Nepalese chronology :

We have pointed out how the midland valley of Vāgwatī had preserved the most ancient tradition of Paśupati and of the Great Mother Goddess of Fertility. During the period of the enlightened Buddhas the ancient cult of Paśupati had absorbed the cult of Virūpakkha and Hū-ṣa with its own theory of Kāla-cakra for a further research into the mysteries of the human mind. The reign of the Kirānti King Jitādasti is associated with the period of Gautama Buddha and Mahābhārata. It is interesting to note that both the Buddhist literature and the Indo-Aryan epic of Mahābhārata recognise the existence of Virūpākṣha, while the epic of Rāmāyaṇa also refers affectionately to the Kirāntas as the allies of King Rāma.

The visit of Aśoka is associated with the reign of King Thunko (Sthunko) and the Nepalese chronology records the event as follows:

“In the reign of this Rājā (Thunko Sthunko), Aśoka, the Rājā of Pāṭaliputra, having heard of the fame of Nepal as a sacred place, and having

obtained the permission of his spiritual guide, Upa Gupta, came on a pilgrimage to Nepal, accompanied by his family, and followed by a large number of his subjects. He visited every holy place, bathed in every sacred water, and worshipped at the shrine of Samyangu (the Chaitya dedicated to the first historical Buddha Vipassi), the symbol of the Mother Goddess and Eight Buddha Vitarāgas (the Eight Buddhas representing Dispassions). His daughter Chārumatî, while playing one day, saw an iron arrow-head turned into stone by a god (Paśupati—the presiding god of Nepal), and determined to remain in Nepal, having concluded from this that it was a land of miracles wrought by the gods. The Rājā, therefore, gave her in marriage to a descendant of a Śākya known by the name of Devapāla, gave them 600 measure of land (ṣaṇṇām śātānām bhūmiḥ), and every other requirement ; and then returned to his own country. On the way back, his Rānî, Tikhya Lakṣmî, gave birth to a son, and suckled him on the ground ; whence the spot and the child were both named Mahîpāna. After this, Chārumatî and her husband Devapāla founded and peopled Deva Patan (a very ancient town to the west of the main temple of Paśupati).”

“ They were then blessed with a numerous family and becoming aged, they determined to pass the rest of their lives in retirement. They, therefore, resolved each to build a Vihāra. That of Chārumatî was first completed, and she died in it, after living a life of Vikṣunî (a nun). Devapāla died in great distress, from not being able to complete his Vihāra before his death. All this happened in the reign of the Kirātî Rājā Thunko (*Sthunko*).”³⁹

It is difficult to identify the exact site of Chārumatî Vihāra in the village of Chāvahi, which seems to be named after Chārumatî. The moon-wise cut stones and the ancient bricks with which the forecourt of the Stûpa of Bhagavān-Vahāl seems to be paved, show that the original foundation is very much anterior to the period of Aśoka. Dharmapāla, Priyapāla etc. appear as the names of the Śākyas in the Licchavi period Nepal, and Devapāla does not appear to be an exception to the rule. And although the Indian protocol has discounted the fact that Chārumatî was one of the daughters of Aśoka, yet the name very well accords with the illustrious Śākyan wives such as Prabhāvatî, Manamatî etc. occurring in the ancient Nepalese documents and *inscriptions*.⁴⁰

CHAPTER V

Assessment of the inscriptions of Aśoka the Great (Circa 273-236 B.C.) :

We have already seen how Śākyamuni's theory of Dharma-cakra gained Royal recognition with the rise of Aśoka to power ; and how the monastic institutions and the religious foundations based on the theory of the Three Jewels (namely : Buddha Dharma and Saṅgha) went on gaining wealth and power. The invasion of Alexander the Great had shaken the foundation of the old order of things as far as the Punjab, but, with his premature death, some of his Generals ruled his vast empire with the backing of the Śakas and the Śaka-Pahlavas. As a shrewd diplomat, Chandra Gupta Maurya had claimed his descent from the Moriyas and the Śākyas of the Himavānt in order to win the support of the warlike Kirāntas in his adventure against the Greeks. Fortunately for Chandra Gupta this adventure happily ended in his matrimonial alliance with the daughter of Selukos Nikator. After this event we find the Persian and the Greek influences so predominant in the monuments of the Mauryas that they do not inspire us with the spiritual feeling of the Indus valley civilisation or with the new drive and force of the story of Hūṣa and Virūpākṣha after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. We have briefly referred to the excavations at the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra, which have brought to light part of a polished pillar, fragments of polished stone, a fragment of gilded vase and have revealed a plan of a great stone-pillared hall based on Achaemenid architecture to confirm the remarks of Strabo. Except for the figure of a native bull on the abacus of the capital of the Aśokan pillar of Sāranātha, the horses, the lions and the other animals appearing on the monuments of Aśoka are purely Hellenistic. Frankly, we do not find the influence of the Indus valley civilisation on the art of the Mauryas. After the destruction of the sculpture and architecture of the ancient capital of Rājgrha, we do not find many relics or the images of Śākyamuni or of his disciples to inspire the Persian and the Greek artists with the models of the statues of the historical Buddhas, so that they had to be symbolised by the stūpas of

Niglihavā, Lumbinī, Kapilavastu and Rāmagāma in Nepal, whither Aśoka had gone on a holy pilgrimage to worship. There is no way out for us but to acknowledge this basic fact in order to understand the character and development of the stūpa during the reign of Aśoka. Evidently, Gautama's Hinayāna Buddhism appears to have found strange bed-partner with the humanism of Plato and the objectively scientific observations of Aristotle against the pretensions of the Vedic Brāhmins to their Revelations. The art of writing appears to be fairly widespread at this period, so that Aśoka could now appeal to the peoples of friendly countries through his edicts and epistles. It appears from his inscriptions that Aśoka had begun to issue his rescripts on Śākyamuni's concept of "Dhamma" after the war of Kalinga. But unlike the concept of the historical Buddhas of "Dhamma" in the sense of the "cause of cosmic existence and its power of sustenance," the order of "Dhamma" in the edicts of Aśoka is not so much physical or astro-physical laws of the self-sustaining "Pudgala or Kaṇa" (atoms) with their own innate qualities, as it is the reign of religious law. It is a norm or rule of life that gives everything its own place. The word "Dhamma" (Dharma) appears to be essentially a "ṛta" or "Satya," which means truth on the line of the Vedic Brāhmins.

Some of the important edicts of Aśoka have been discovered in Girnar (Junāgarh State, Kāthiāwād), Kalsi (Dehradun district, U.P.), Dhauri (Puri district, Orissa), Jaugaḍa (Ganjam District, Orissa), Mansherā (Hazārā District, N. W. F. P.), Shābhāzgarhi (Peshawar District, N. W. F. P.) and Yerrangudi (Karnul district, Madras). A fragment containing the records of his faith on the eighth Regnal Year has been discovered at Sopārā (ancient Surparaka) in the Thana district, Bombay.

The inscriptions of Aśoka in Niglihavā and Lumbinī are merely commemorative. On the authority of Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, there were other monuments of Aśoka to commemorate Buddhas Kakusandha and Kaśyapa in the vicinity of Śrāvastī and Kapilavastu and also in the home of the Kolīs known as Rāmagāma. We have indications that these monuments may be discovered in the near future. It is regrettable that these commemorative inscriptions of Aśoka in Nepal have been so misinterpreted as to lose their connection with the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph and with the historical current of the legend of Virūpakkha, which had

been absorbed in the cult of Paśupati in its astropsychic cycle of Death known as Kāla-cakra. However, the spirit of Aśoka's commemorative inscriptions confirm the record of the Nepalese chronology to the effect that he had gone there to worship, and not definitely to preach Buddhism in the land of the historical Buddhas themselves, except for affirming in general terms his faith in the Aryan eight paths preached by *Buddha Śākyamuni* and his aversion to Yogic practices and sacrifices in all their Śaivite and Vedic forms and manifestations.

It is this self-contradictory attitude of Aśoka to the Buddhist concept of "Dhamma" (Law) that led him, in his Girnār Rock Edict (Hultzsch, Corp. Ins. Ind., I. p. 1f) of Junāgarh State of Kāthiāwār,—to ban all forms of sacrifices ; and this brought him into direct conflict with the Vedic sanctions of killing animals and of offering oblations to the Vedic gods of the sky for a place in their Heaven, which the historical Buddhas as well as the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy had discounted on scientific grounds. If the pursuit of "Dhamma" was a "ṛta or Satya" (truth) the question arises what was the correct path to attain this truth. The Brāhmins had indited "Upaniṣadas," but they were like beautiful houses without the requisite gates and windows. No body had encountered the Vedic gods nor anybody resurrected from their graves to inform the world what lay beyond the pall of death. Against such a background, it is well for us to examine the Vedic concept of truth, as it actually occurs in the Vedic literature :

The Vedic concept of the Universe and of "ṛta or Satya" (truth) :

Since the time of Indo-Aryan Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, creation was the opposite of chaos ; it was order ; it was a scheme and a limit, essentially a Law by itself. Chaos which preceded creation was the reign of water, which inundated the universe. The creation of earth out of this chaos meant the beginning of order : in fact, the earth is called in the Ṛgveda (X, 121, 5) Dṛḍhā (दृढा) meaning the "steady one." When a house was built, it was believed that the earth was ideally recreated. As such, the earth was invoked and oblations and sacrifices offered to her as the steady and steadfast object of human worship.

As soon as the Man-boar incarnation of Viṣṇu rescued the Earth from cosmic waters, the Almighty Viṣṇu also fixed her and made her

obey a settled order based upon his Three Incomprehensible Steps of the Three Vedas, which represented “*ṛta* or *Satya*” (truth). In the Atharva-veda (XII, 1) the Earth is invoked as “*GREAT EARTH, FORMIDABLE RIGHT.*” The text of “*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*” (VII, 4, 1, 8) adds “This earth is established on truth; hence “*TRUTH IS THIS EARTH,*” for, this earth is the most certain of worlds.” In the same book (VII, 1, 1, 3) the supreme ruler of this Earth is said to be “*Yama*”—the Dharma-rāja, who is the King of the Law. Yama hath given the settlement on this earth, and it is, therefore, he who grants to the performers of the Yajñas and sacrifices their allotted settlement upon this earth. Evidently, this very concept inspired Aśoka to establish the “eighty four thousand Dharma-rājikās,” which are entirely different from the “Dharmarājikās” of Nepal.

Unaware of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph, the Buddhists under the influence of the Vedic Brāhmins of India make the Earth bear witness to the attainment of the supreme enlightenment by Śākyamuni. It is the Earth that is made to bear testimony to the fidelity of Sitā, when she “shuffles off her mortal coil”; so much so that some Buddhistic stūpas, discovered in Lauriya-Nandanagar near Bettiah in the district of Champaran on the basin of river Vāgawatī, have yielded small gold leaves stamped with the image of the earth-goddess (Prithvī or Urvī) referred to in the Vedic hymns. Competent archaeologists have identified these relics with the Mauryan period, which again testifies to the Vedic influence in the vicinity of the Gaṇḍakī river valleys. The earth preserves the same characteristics of the “*STEADY ONE,*” as she is described in the Vedas, when she listens to the Aryan Eight Paths preached by Śākyamuni. It is a pity that the Brāhmaṇic concept of “*Dharma*” (Law) appears to have influenced Aśoka to such an extent, that the “*Dhamma*” as the cause of creation, sustenance and cosmic existence in the real sense of the historical Buddhas and the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy, had been made into the means of attaining the Brāhmaṇic concept of the “*Svarga*” (Heaven) rather than the attainment of the state of Nibbāna here and now. Indeed, there was a confusion in Gautama’s theory of *Atta* (Ego) in the scheme of cosmic creation versus “*Anatta*” (non-ego, non-soul) and his acceptance of the Brāhmaṇic theory of the recurrence of life under the dictation of Karma (Retribution for accumulated deeds or acts). Śākyamuni’s Buddhism had

received Royal recognition but both the Buddhistic and the Brāhmanic world of Jambudvīpa had failed to grasp the basic difference between the cult of Perception as it was being developed by the Pāśupat Yogins and the cosmic theory of evolution as it was developed by the historical Buddhas. It is interesting to note that Aśoka issues his injunctions against the Vedic sanction of sacrifices while he contents the appetite of his princely palates in the Imperial kitchen of Pāṭaliputra by the killing of two peacocks and one male deer every day. Evidently, these contradictions and the consequent challenge of the Pāśupat Yogins with their quest of the permanent state of “Anādinidhana” (Timelessness) here and now by the practice of Yoga (self-control) and Yajñas,—appear to have led to the world famous Buddhistic *confessio fidei* as follows :

“Ye dhammā hetu pabhavā hetu tesān Tathāgato āhā Tesān cayo-nirodho yevam vādi Mahāśamano”

To translate this Buddhistic *confessio fidei* into English: “The Tathāgato (the historical Buddhas) have explained the causes (of the physical and the astrophysical origin) of all sentient existence in this versatile world” Line 1.

The eminent pilgrim (Śākyamuni) hath (likewise) explained the causes of the Extinction all such mortal existence.”Line 2.

Historical assessment of the Buddhistic confessio fidei :

The above *confessio fidei* is to be found in the Pāli texts of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka indited by the Sthaviravādins or Theravadins (Orthodox school elders) sometime in the third century B.C. after the split in the Hinayānist community in the Third Buddhist Synod of Pāṭaliputra. Judging from the inscriptions of Aśoka and the records of the Theravādins and the Lokottaravādins, the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha had passed into a legend by their time. All of them believed in the supramundane idea to accept the view that Śākyamuni, even before he entered the womb of Māyā, had attained his perfection and that his life on earth was a mere display in various incarnations and manifestations for the benefit of all human beings. Aśoka's visit to Nepal, as recorded in the Nepalese chronology appears to have stunned his family by the miracle of Mahîpāna and the “Arrow-head” miracle of Kāla-cakra. Against such a reli-

gious background this confessio fidei appears to show conclusively that the peace of Nibbāna by the Aryan Eight Paths based upon the Three Jewels implied the destruction of something real in themselves. We have given the reaction of the Pāśupat Yogins to the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist vase-epitaph in Chapter III, where they made a fresh attack on the weaknesses of human nature by the pursuit of the path of Yoga (self-control) to get rid of our guilty conscience. The Buddhist texts of Atanatiya and Mahā-Samaya-Suṭṭanta already take note of Virūpakka. Then, too the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana is the god of the Śākyas. We have also seen how the Yakṣa cult of Hū-ṣa and Virūpakka becomes absorbed in the cult of Paśupati at this period in its scheme of the astropsychic cycle of Death.

There is no denying that Śākyamuni had visualised the future for man, but the contradictions of life demanded a more practical approach through the path of perception rather than of renunciation. This Buddhistic confessio-fidei recognises the validity of the theory of Kāla-cakra and tries to find a reply to it by stating that, if the historical Buddhas had explained the causes of the origin of the Universe, the Great Pilgrim Śākyamuni had also explained the mystery of life and the astropsychic cycle of Death beyond the pall of our mortal existence. I have examined all the different reading of this confessio fidei in Pāli as well as in Saṃskrit, and the way in which the different versions were being translated into the Chinese language, to see how the Buddhist world had tried to explain themselves to the changing doctrines of different schools of votaries from period to period.⁴¹

The development of the pre-Indo-Aryan psychic cult of the Great Mother Goddess :

We have already described with reference to the Vedas how the idea of the Earth Goddess developed with the Indo-Aryans. But the pre-Aryan and the non-Aryan Indus Valley Civilisation, as seen in the seals of Moheñ-jodāro (the city of the Dead) showing the images of the Great Mother Goddess or of the female deity from whose "lotus" a tree of life bursts forth, - did not seem to have an idea of moral order based upon the Revelationary truth of the Three Vedas as the Indo-Aryans conceived it. Among them we find a constant dread of the mystery of life and the inevitability of Death in the cycle of our existence. Nature creates but she kills as well.

If there is a life force represented by the phallus and the female member, there is also a death-force. We do not notice a moral order in the pre-Aryan concept of creation among the Dravidian, the Muṇḍā and the Mongolian tribes even to our own day. Apart from some of the earliest symbols of the “Liṅgum” and the “Yoni” obtaining in Nepal, the plaque of Nandanagar in the district of Champāran represents the same idea during the Mauryan period.

In the midland Vāgwatī valley of Nepal the Mother Goddesses represent a general pattern of Motherhood according to the religious experiences of the worshippers in their “Āgama” (esoteric worship confined to the initiates of a family vis-a-vis the Nigama meaning the sun-worship of the Indo-Aryans). Thus we can trace the whole gamut of the intricate development of the esoteric cult of Great-Mother-Goddess in all her different forms and manifestations as Oemā, Umā, Āma, Ajimā, Parvatī, Himagiritanayā Bhavanī, Girijā, Hū-ṣa, Tārā, Sapta-kannagais (the Seven virgins) the Aṣṭamātrikās (the Eight Mother Goddesses), the Nava-Durgās (the Nine Durgās), the Kumārī (the virgin) and Prajñāpāramitās (the perfections of Wisdom usually as Dispassions) in the scheme of the Life-forces represented by the Praṇaba (the first vowel *ṛ* pronounced as Om̐). Then, too, the Mother Goddesses are represented in skeletal forms, such as Kubjikā, Kaṅkālī and all the other blood-curdling goddesses as Death-forces. Here these Death-forces are not just Māyā in the sense of illusion or the myth of appearance.

The interchange or the idea of the Great Mother Goddess and the Mother Earth between the non-Aryans and the Aryans :

If we read the famous hymn to Earth contained in the Atharva-Veda (XII, 1),—a book, which is tainted by the ideas of the pre-Aryan world as and when they came into contact with the non-Aryan people after their conquest of India,—we notice that many ancient elements became intermingled with the idea associated with the Earth on which we live. We have already referred to the assimilation of the funeral practices of the Gaṇḍakī valley in the funeral mound of the Aryans in Nandanagar or in the district of Champāran close to the Gaṇḍakī valley, where a gold leaf was found stamped with the image of the Mother-Earth. To the non-Aryan world,

the earth was a vast stretch and the support of everything; and the spirit of the Earth is invoked for granting success and prosperity, for giving food and nourishment to men and plants and yielding treasures to men as Vasumatî. She is the milk-giving cow and a protector from rivals and enemies. It is for this reason that the Poḍeys and Chāmākhalakas have aversion to the eating of the flesh of the cows while the Shārkis of Aryan origin have not the same complex as pointed out in Chapter I.

According to a famous hymn of the Ṛgveda (A.V. XII, 1, 34), the Earth shelters the body of the departed with tenderness and affection. In Atharva-Veda (III, 49) the dead man is thus advised :

“ Approach thou this Mother-Earth—

The wide-expanded Earth, the very propitious—

The Earth soft as wool to him who hath sacrificed gifts :

Let her protect thee on the forward road in front. ”

We can, therefore, guess the ambiguity and the multivalence of the primeval archetype; it shows a complexity of the Indo-Aryan myths concerning the Earth referred to above. The idea of order or moral order embodied in the Indo-Aryan conception of the Earth, as opposed to chaos, is the outcome of different spiritual and cultural environments from those of the Kirāntas of the Indus valley. We can clearly see in it the notion the Vedic “ ṛta ” (Satya),—Truth as the Indo-Aryans understood it. On the other hand, the intuitions, as expressed in the seals of Moheñjodāro showing the Great Mother Goddess from whose body the tree of life bursts forth—betrays an emotional complex as to the inexhaustible productiveness of Nature, rather than the rational reactions of the Indo-Aryans to the change from growth to decay. There is the inherent fear in both the Aryan and non-Aryan man of the ever recurring cycle of life and death. But with the introduction of the story of Virûpakkha and Hû-ṣa to the Indus Valley cult of Paśupati and of the Great Mother Goddess of Fertility, we steadily find the redemptive attributes through the path of Yogic perception. If the Indo-Aryans sought to take comfort from the horror of death in the cosy bosom of Mother Earth, the non-Aryan Himālayas sought to get rid of the sin complex through the performance of Yajñas (sacrifices) and the practice of Yoga (self-control) by man and wife under Nature’s own conditions,

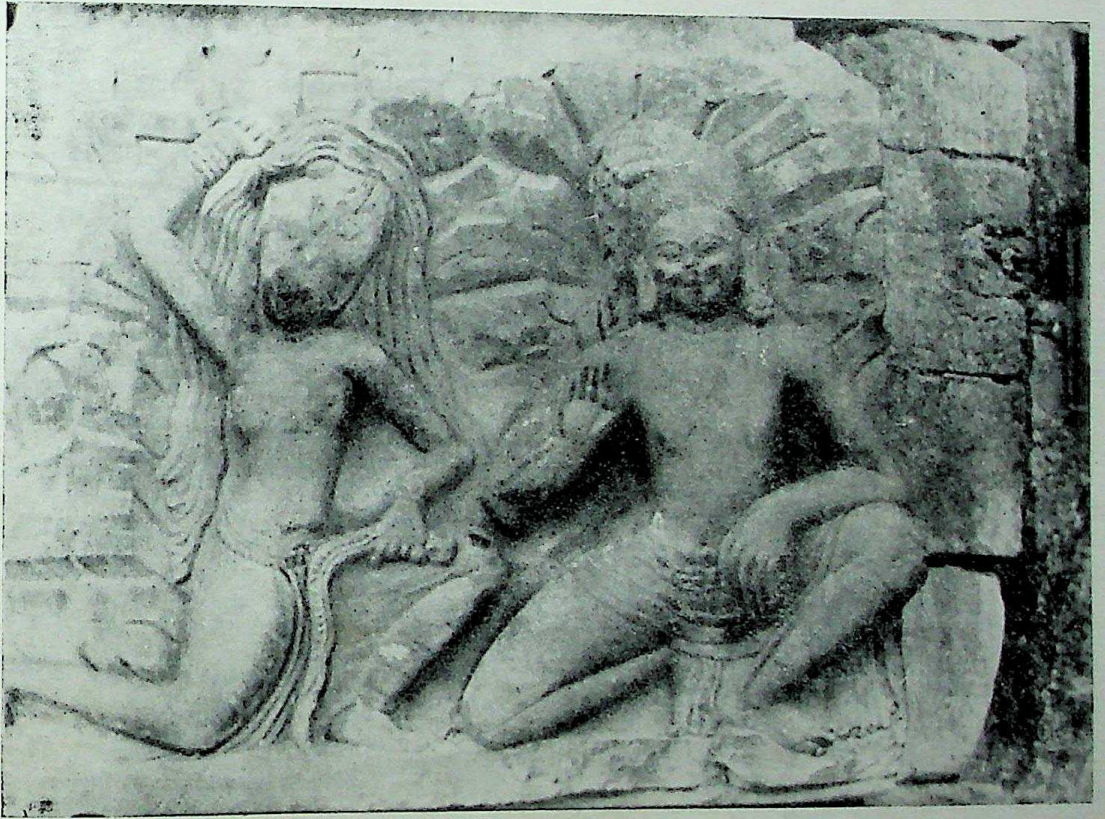
The idea of Motherhood immanent in the pre-Aryan India is not a protecting and human Motherhood as it is expressed in the Vedic hymns quoted above. The Indo-Aryan image of the Mother Earth persists in Gautama's attitude of touching the Earth (Bhûmîsparśamudrā) and calling her to bear witness to his attainment of enlightenment, or of Sitā's disappearance in the bosom of the Mother Earth in order to avoid the aspersion of a washerman. On the other hand, the non-Aryan conception of Motherhood in Moheñjodāro and in the Himālayas is a wild impulse,—a chaotic blending of undefined emotions, hopes and fears, which, as Śaktî and Māyā, is independent of the organic growth of history as much as to need psychological solution. It is also interesting to note that the Greek tragedian Sophocles had the same revulsion at the idea of Motherhood prevalent in the non-Aryan world as the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. But the Aryan language had become the greatest unifying factor among the Aryan and the non-Aryan world. The multiplicity of names given to the Himālayan deities or to the same type of deity, such as the Sun, the moon, and the earth represent the diverse reactions of the pre-Aryan and the Aryan mind and their attitude to their objects of worship. All of such names are either imaginative and descriptive of the primitive conceptions, which were moulded by the capacity of creating new terms, so peculiar to the Samskrit language of the Aryan people. The current use of those terms has weakened, but not completely effaced the images, which the root of the word evokes in us. As for examples, the Mother Earth is "Dhatri" (the supporter), Dhātrî (the nurse), Kṣemā (the patient forgiver), Medinî (the helper), Bhûmî (soil), Gau (the cow), Vasumatî or Vāsundharā (the holder or container of the mineral wealth), Viṣṭāpam (the inverted cups, because according to some old cosmogenic ideas the Heaven and the Earth were imagined as two inverted cups one above the other, which were later separated). Finally, Prthvî or Urvî (the wide one or the broad one) was considered to be a very wide expanse stretched out by the Vedic god Indra, and into which, according to the Raghuvamśa of poet Kālidāsa the solar dynasty of Northern India known in the south by the dynastic name of the Ikṣākus (Ikṣākus), had delved the ocean in their search of the sacrificial horse hidden away by Kapilamuni (the celebrated author of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy) in the subterranean world.

In the Vedas the Universe as space is divided into three parts, namely the Earth, the Antarikṣa (atmosphere or the intermediate space) and the sky. But each of these planes was again divided into three sections. Consequently, the earth, too, is triple; it is not separated from the sky, but it forms with this a unity through its quality of " SAD Urvih " meaning the six expansions consisting of three stratifications of the sky. As to its shape, it is conceived of as round or square, surrounded by the Seven oceans of the Vedic Cosmography. Judging from the images of Mother Earth representing a female with swollen breasts and marked sex on places famous for Vedic revival, the heritage of pre-Aryan Himālayas was being adopted in the Brāhmanic world. The primitive tree, forest and river spirits of " Anouta " (the old name of the Himālayas) have also a very long history. Like the conception of the Mother Goddess or of the Mother Earth, the multiplicity of the names of the deities abiding in the forest, under a wide-spreading Peepul tree, in and through the running brooks, over the mysterious rocks and waterfalls also represents the religious experiences of the worshippers belonging to the ethnic groups who inhabit the many vales of the Himālayas and the plains of India. In Nepal several tribal deities represented by the stones and ring-stones at the foot of a holy tree and respected in the hollow of the tree's trunk is still known as the " Āmā " (Mother) with no other specification.

The religious festival of Dasain :

The agricultural and the forest communities of Nepal have been celebrating since a very long time their festivals in autumn, when harvesting is over and before the mists and chill of winter blasts the smile of summer. This period known as the Dasain (Dusserā in India) is a peculiar conjunction of the universal rhythm, when the prolific forces, exhausted by the season of mellow fruitfulness, will have to be recuperated and restored by sacrifices, so that the soil may be sown with fresh seed in the coming spring. The tribal rulers chose this particular time after the rains to go out on military campaigns, so that they may take prisoners of war to offer as sacrifices in their " Puruṣamedha " in order to strengthen Earth's fecundity. After the campaign the " Āmā " (the Mother) is invited from her secluded home in the Himālayan mountains to accept the worship offered through the leaves

Plate No. VIII



A fragment of basrelief depicting the death-dance of Sati before the sorrow-struck Śiva in his abode of Kailāsa within the enclosure of the temple of Kañkeśvari.

of nine *important trees and plants*.⁴² And the marriage is celebrated symbolically between the King,—who is believed to be the representative of God on earth and the spirit of “Āmā” during the festival of Phulpāti (flowers and leaves) staged with regal pomp in Kathmandu even to our own day. Here we find a blending of the pre-Aryan and the Indo-Aryan concepts of the Great Mother Goddess and of the Mother Earth in the common bond of fertility.

The riverine, the agricultural and the forest communities, among whom the concept of the Mother Goddess and the Earth Goddess developed, continued to center their religious rites on the sacrificial rituals intended to restore the fecundity of the soil. Bloody sacrifices became an essential part of the Yajñas, which propitiated all the vegetation goddesses, so that she may regenerate the seeds. This idea is associated with the third Kirānta King Dakṣa (Duskam or Skandhara in some chronologies) and his daughter Satī, whose story is told in a book known as Svasthānī with great gusto in the month of Māgha (January-February) among the invincible men of the Himālayan Highlands in one form or another even to this day. Dakṣa had many daughters and they were all given away in marriage to the Himālayan gods. Satī—the eldest daughter had conceived a passion for the Himālayan God Śaṅkara, but her parents objected to the marriage. So, Satī in desperation threw herself into the sacrificial fire. In retaliation Śaṅkara chopped off the head of his father-in-law, and bore the body of his dead lover on his shoulders till it decomposed and dropped out. Satī was reborn as Umā to become the consort of Śaṅkara once again thus showing that life needs to be fed by death and that death ensures rebirth.

The world of men would be overwhelmed by an excess of population growth, were not death to restrain human and animal proliferation with his timely intervention. The Indo-Aryans incorporated this truth in a story of the Mahābhārata (VII, 54, 48), in which it is told that the earth was oppressed by the multiplication of life, and death was created to relieve her. She appeared in the form of a beautiful girl unwilling to accept the dreadful job of killing the creatures whom she herself created. But unable to avoid the will of the Omnipotent, the lovely maiden shed tears of despair which turned into the pale forerunners of death in the form of diseases. The intuition of a pastoral and agricultural community, impressed by the alter-

nation of birth, growth and decay, can be explained by the terms "Saṃsāra" and "Māyā." Both the terms mean that every visible object comes into existence, survives for a while and disappears in one form to reappear in another. It is as good as saying that matter is indestructible and that, if we destroy it in one form, it will appear in another form. But judging from Aśoka's inscriptions under review, we find his weakness for the Vedic concept of "Svarga" (Heaven) and consequently the recurrence of life according to the law of "Karma." We do not find here the understanding of the Yogic practices of the Pāśupat Yogins to the effect that the best approach to God and man was by improving our human nature and by creating the most perfect behaviour in our Saṃsāra by self-discipline and sacrifice here and now. This also shows that Aśoka had not learnt how to move into the higher plane than that of Heaven and Hell by the pursuit of the Eight-fold Aryan path to attain the state of "Nibbānapada" or "Amṛta" (the adamant state of perfect bliss and timelessness) here and now. Evidently, his teacher Upa-gupta had not succeeded in ridding Aśoka of the notion of time on the Great Pilgrim's progress to attain human and spiritual value.

We have already described how this was true even in the case of all the disciples of Gautama, who had understood their Master imperfectly and who presumed to preach, because they had not been at peace with their own minds. With the Great Passing of Gautama, the astropsychic theory of Death (Kāla-cakra) had been put up by the Pāśupat Yogins vis-a-vis the Aryan Eight-fold-paths as the right way to the state of "Anādinidhana" (state of perfect bliss and timelessness) beyond the pale of Death. The religious atmosphere was now far from easy. As in Tibet, where Buddhism superseded Bon religion but could not cancel it, so also in the Jambudvīpa of Aśoka, he had no option but to accept and preserve Indo-Aryan concept of Heaven and Hell by adapting the lofty Eight-fold paths of Śākyamuni to the stunted religious stature of Pāṭaliputra according to the limitations of his own time. At least, in one of his inscriptions, Aśoka claims to have falsified the Vegetation Goddesses and the local gods, but he does not claim to have cancelled them. Like all the immature thinkers, who have taken the ills of their own times as a test and their own prescription as a panacea of universal application, the Himālayan "religion of sensualist exuberance

and of the Liṅgum ” and “ Yonî ” appears to have disturbed the religious thinkers and moralists of the time of Aśoka. Consciously or unconsciously, the conflict between some of the loftiest ideals of “ Dharma-cakra ” and “ Kāla-cakra ” appears to be going full steam ahead inspite of the attempts of the Buddhistic priests to gather Virûpakkha at the feet of Śākyamuni or of the Vedic Brāhmins to brand Virûpākṣha as the King of the Demons. The invisible revolutionaries of the Himālayas have preserved the spiritual impulses and human emotions in their confessio fidei and their festivals, which had their influences on the silent nature of the Universal men at different stages of mental development.

The pre-Aryan festival of Phulpāti with its emphasis on ploughing and of regenerating the seeds and of cross-breeding appears to have had its effect on the non-working Vedic and the Buddhistic priests. For, according to the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (VII, 2, 2, 5) “ It is for the seed that the womb and the furrow is made. ” The field in Nepālī language is “ Kheta ” a neuter name meaning a field or a wife derived from the Samskrit word “ Kṣetra . ” The marriage then takes place between the Great Mother Goddess and the King, who brings her gifts from the battles in the shape of sacrifices to become her husband as the representative of God on earth. It is the King, who begins the ploughing with certain ceremonies, which are similar to those of some of the ancient Chinese Emperors who lent their hands to the field-works during the spring.

According to one of the earliest Buddhist “ Jātakas ” “ the King celebrated the ploughing festival. On that day they adorn the town like a Celestial abode.....On that occasion the King takes hold of a Golden plough, the attendant ministers of a hundred and seven silver ploughs and holding them they plough this way and that. The King goes up and down. ” We thus see that the dignity of labour in the fields was more important than the acts of war or of asceticism. These little pastoral Kingdoms and communities do not seem to be contaminated by distinctions of castes and slavery. The solar complex of the Aryan boast of heraldry was slowly giving way to the golden origin of the races of the Gold Country. But as each state was different from the other country, these ideas differed from one principality to another according to the conditions of nature and environment amid which the people lived over the Himālayas.

If Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism had to accommodate many of the pre-Aryan customs, the purely nomadic and pastoral society and lack of agricultural lands in Tibet and Central Asia had also to accept the Bonpo-Sa-bdags (Masters of the Earth), who are entirely different from the village and town deities of Nepal except, of course, in those regions of Nepal where the Bonpo communities survive to our own day. These Sa-bdags, unlike their Indo-Aryan counterparts of the sky, abide under the ground and seems to be identified with the individual clan. The myths, mysteries and hard realities of the pre-Aryan and the Indo-Aryan races have been the preoccupation of the Nepālese chronicles, the Brāhmaṇic and the Buddhistic literature and epics, and as such they have been the deepest of puzzles for foreign writers and a matter of astonishment for the entire world. The foreigners must shed their illusion of “ The Green Eyed God to the north of Kathmandu ” in order to penetrate the secret springs of our ancestors’ motives and actions. And because Nepal has been able to preserve a complete record of the crippling, unacknowledged guilt of the invading races, it deserves a real hard study of the curse of the Indus valley massacre, and the inner conflict of the Aryan and the non-Aryan races. The obsession of the ancient races in their combats, their crisis of conscience in victory and defeat, and the attempt at justification of the racial crimes by the composition of literature loaded with the accounts of naked injustice, brutal sins in the name of Truth and God and the sorrows of the down-trodden are the deepest of secrets, which these village deities and Sa-bdags hold in their bosom.

To quote Professor G. Tucci, “ Theoretically, each piece of land has its own Sa-bdag, just as each spring, each river, each lake has its own Klu, Nāga or a dragon; and as a matter of fact, the two notions—that of Klu, Nāga and that of a Sa-bdag—cannot be distinguished. The Klu have a definite connection with water, but they can also be found under a dry land. These Sa-bdags are ambiguous, indifferently good or bad; their attitude toward man being adequate the behaviour of man himself. They are quick to react to any offence made to them, it does not matter whether consciously or unconsciously. They are not concerned with the will of man, but with his actions : whatever might be injurious to them brings about their vengeance, an immediate one. All sorts of diseases and epidemics, which afflict man and cattle, depend upon their wrath. The Bon

religion, therefore, developed, and Buddhism accepted, a large propitiating liturgical praxis and literature, in which the Sa-bdag are asked for forgiveness or placated. When one crosses a bridge, a river, a mountain pass, a prayer is addressed to the Sa-bdag presiding over the place, and one should ask for his forgiveness; his domain, it does not matter whether small or large, has been violated by man, and man must placate the Masters of the soil, with which they are identified. In the Tibetan society of nomads and shepherds, gods are preeminently masculine; but, in India, the work chiefly resting on women the goddesses take the upper hands of the gods : they are Mothers. The conditions of life being different, the Tibbetans and the aboriginal inhabitants of India reacted in a different way to the relation felt to exist between man and soil. Then the Indo-Europeans carried with them a new idea, morphologically different, be it *Pr̥thvî*, or *Aditî*, the Mother who emanated all gods, being and things. Later, in the course of time, she became rationalised and became the embodiment of Earthhood, the witness of truth, unable, inspite of her boundless patience, to bear untruth by the breakers of *ṚTA* or *DHARMA* or in a word, evil, quite in accordance with the prominence given by Indo-Europeans to the idea of order conceived as truth."

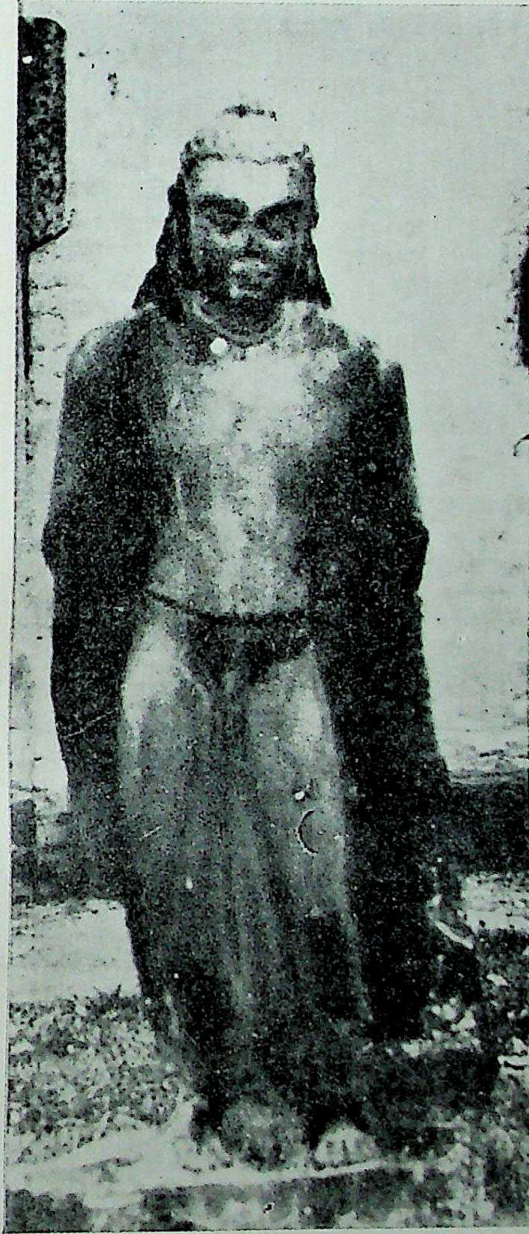
We have given adequate examples of how the *Kirāntas* of the Indus-valley civilisation understood, the cult of the Great Mother Goddess and of *Paśupati* and how the concept was developed with "Yoga" (self-control) and the "Yajñas" (sacrifices) in the *Vāgvatî* valley. The invading Indo-Aryans did bring their own concept of truth based upon their Vedas and their Revelations of the Gods of the sky. But the Yogic practices and the Lotus theory had worked a schism among the Indo-Aryans, so that the historical Buddhas stood up to dispute the theories of their Indo-Aryan forefathers. But inspite of the sublime teachings of *Śākyamuni*, the race theories propagated by the Indo-Aryans produced *Virûḍhaka* and *Chandra-Gupta-Maurya* to point out the weakness, the fear and the reality of miscegenation and the danger of sexual hysteria. And what these great men seemed to hope was that, out of the non-Aryan and the Indo-Aryan heart in conflict and out of their crisis of conscience could come a new concept about human values, a new reverence for their country of origin and all its people irrespective of caste, colour or creed and a voluntary recognition

by the individual Indo-Aryan of the spiritual development of the indigenous non-Aryan inhabitants. The appearance of Virûpkkha along with the Kings of the North, the East and the south to meet Śākyamuni in Kapilavastu proves conclusively that the history was racial. Consequently the absorption of the story of Hû-ṣa and Virûpākṣha in the cult of Paśupati is another proof of the fact that the advanced thinkers of the Gaṇḍakî and the Vāgwatî river valleys were seeking a psychological solution to the obsession of the Indo-Aryans. In the history of Virûḍhaka, we can see the arrogance of the solar dynasty of the Indo-Aryans, who could summon the non-Aryan girls to their beds, their obsession with purity of blood and their branding of the offsprings as Vṛsalas (cross breeds) so that the illegitimate children had to deny their own birthright and never be able to say “ My Mother, My Mother ” so dear to the children’s hearts. This is the tragedy of Virûḍhaka,—the Crown Prince of Kośalî who treasured human values and commanded a naked will to flout the paranoiac fear of the Indo-Aryans as to the mixing of bloods. Even the vengeance he wrecked upon the Śākyas of Kapilavastu did not expunge this guilt of “ identity crisis ”; and the expiation needed psychological approach to the problems of human existence. This was provided by the legend of Virûpakkha. Against such a background, let us turn to the commemorative inscriptions of Aśoka dedicated to the memory of Buddha Kanakamuni and Buddha Śākyamuni in Niglihavā and Lumbinî respectively to find out how they are fundamental in helping us to understand the religious trend of thought in the Himālayan Piedmont of the Gaṇḍakî river valleys during the age of Aśoka.

The pillar inscription of Aśoka in Niglihavā along the basin of Gaṇḍakî river in western Nepal :

We have adequately described in Chapter II how the early Buddhist trends of thought represented by the fifth historical Buddha Kanakamuni and saint Kapilamuni of Kapilavastu departed totally from the Vedic Revelations and the Brāhmanic law of Karma. The Nepālese chronology and the Indian opinion differ entirely on the life and work of Buddha Kanakamuni. According to the Nepālese chronology, he was the fifth of the historical Buddhas, who occurred in Dvāparayūga. Then the chronology records cryptically and sarcastically that he came from the city of Sobhāvati

Plate No. IX



Nameless Buddha aiming at self-perfection known as Saugata or Pratyeka-Buddha standing between the Holy-of-Holies of Avalokiteśvara (Atikārunica) and the stûpa of Bhagavān-vahāl.

and visited the stûpa of the first historical Buddha in Samyangu and the Āgama, and ascended into Heaven, where he caused Indra—the King of the Vedic gods—to practise Dhamma and returned to his Vihāra (Sobhī-tārāma). The inscription of Aśoka lies close to the village of Niglihavā in the district of Bhairavā in Western Nepal. In the usage of India, Buddha Kanakamuni is a Pratyeka-Buddha meaning a Buddha who attained knowledge necessary to Nirvāṇa, but did not preach it to men. In the usage of Nepal Pratyeka—Buddha is a Buddha of self-perfection and this category of nameless Buddhas are entirely different from the historical Buddhas, who are variously known as the Tathāgatas or Mānushi or Swābhāvika Buddhas with specific names. They are mortal Buddhas. The fact that Buddha Kanakamuni preached the Buddhistic concept of “Dharma” to the Vedic god Indra and further that he paid his obeisance to the stûpa of the first historical Buddha Vipassi and the Āgama (esoteric worship) is a further confirmation of how the historical Buddhas were looking down on the Vedic Nigama (sun-worship or the worship of the gods of the sky). It was Buddha Vipassi, who cast the first seed of Lotus on Nāga-daha (Nāga-hṛada) that flowered into a lotus over the hill of Go Sriṅga (Sarayangu) hill. This legend of Buddha Kanakamuni can be taken to mean that he made the Lotus theory of the first historical Buddha Vipassi his base for examining the cosmic theory as to the origin of the universe rather than taking the Vedic Revelations for granted as the quintessence of creations from the androgynous Brahmā.

As shown by the inscription of Aśoka, he had information on the fourteenth year of his anointment that the stûpa of Buddha Kanakamuni was a place of worship and it had become so old that he had to have it repaired for the second time. The stûpa was so important that Aśoka paid a visit to it on the twentieth year of his anointment and erected a commemorative pillar inscription. As a sacred place of Buddhistic worship, this stûpa of Buddha Kanakamuni was visited by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang who also noticed the Aśokan pillar with an inscription. The Aśokan inscriptions reads as follows :

1. (A) Devānampiyena Piyadasina Lājina chodasavasābhisitena
2. Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyam vadhitē

3. (B) sābhisitena cha atana āgācha mahiyite

4. pāpīte

The Oxford editors have translated the inscription as follows :

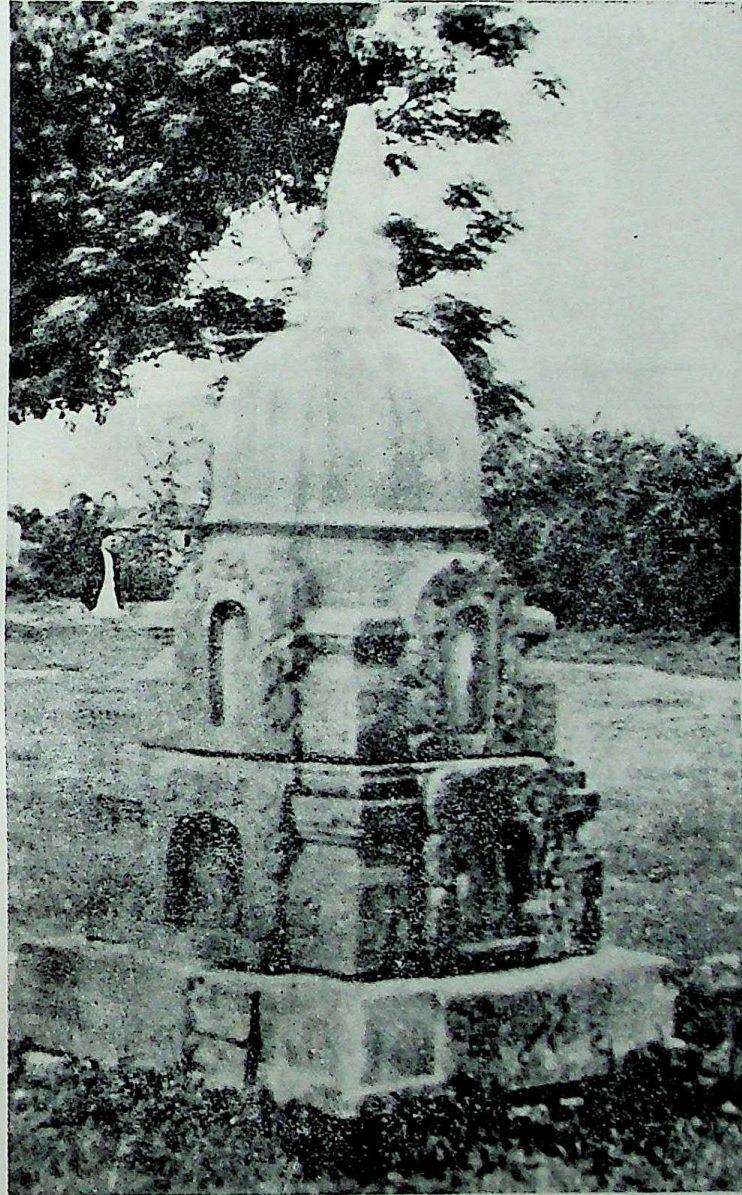
(A) When King Devanāmpriya (beloved of the gods) Priyadarśin (fair-looking or friendly looking) had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the stūpa of Buddha Konāgama (the fifth historical Buddha) to the double of its original size.

(B) And he had been anointed twenty years, he (also) came himself and worshipped this spot and caused a stone pillar to be set up.

The italics are mine. Mr. V. A. Smith is in slight disagreement with the Oxford translation. In his opinion “dutyam” means that Aśoka, six or seven years before the erection of the pillar, enlarged for the second time, the stūpa of Buddha Kanakamuni implying that it was Aśoka, who also repaired it for the first time. The fact is that Aśoka did not erect the stūpa, but had what was already there, repaired for the second time. As already stated the stūpa of Buddha Kanakamuni had grown so old by the time Aśoka knew about it that he had to have it repaired for the second time. On the 20th year of his anointment, he came to worship at the place and erected a commemorative pillar inscription. Judging from the dread with which the epic of the Mahābhārata looked upon the “Eḍukas” (stūpas) it is inconceivable that the stūpas were the contributions of India to *Nepal*.⁴³

What is most significant is the fact that there is no mention of “Bali” (sacrifices) or the Aryan-Eight-fold-paths in connection with the stūpa dedicated to the memory of Buddha Kanakamuni. This confirms the fact that Buddha Kanakamuni did not seem to be touched by the religious feelings, which inspired the multifarious sects at his time. He had a scientific bent of mind, and as a scientist he considered that whatever happens in this cosmic sphere is caused by the operation of a scientific law (Dhamma). The Budhistic world had a good knowledge of the elements of nature (Prakṛti). Like all cosmologists he tried to comprehend the shape and destiny of the Universe according to the inherent law of nature defined by

Plate No. X



An example of stone-caitya expressing through the medium of stone the artistic expressions of the architectural pursuits of the builders of Kapilvastu in the scheme of Vyûha (fortress).

the word “ Swabhāva. ” Because the historical Buddhas believed in the law of Nature, they are also known as the “ Swābhāvika ” Buddhas.

Against the background of these cosmic theories of the historical Buddhas, and particularly, Buddha Kanakamuni, Kapilamuni tried to compile a mathematical model of the Universe. In fact, the term Sāṃkhya means mathematical calculation. Both these celebrated saints did not recognise the existence of the gods, the goblins and the ghosts. The followers of the Swābhāvika Buddhas representing the naturalistic schools came to be known later as Nāstikas (atheists), Chāravākas (who believed that life was an end in itself) and Lokāyata (existentialists). They became the forerunners of scientific investigation. For them the earth was not a Mother Goddess as the Vedic Brāhmins believed, but she was composed of the five elements known as Pañcatatva, namely fire, water, wind, ether and space. However defective their concept of the five elements, they were bold enough to uphold the theory that the earth was formed by elements, which were characterised by smells as their peculiar quality. This is where they made a mistake, for smell can also be found in other substances. But they reconciled their error by making the assumption that the smell in other substances were acquired by their contact with the Earth and did not therefore from part of their intrinsic quality.

These precursors of science do not seem to be aware that, side by side with the fundamental quality of the smell (gandha), the earth possessed other qualities of colour, taste, sound, dimension, separateness, conjunction, disjunction, number, priority, posterity, weight, fluidity, velocity, elasticity and weightlessness in her own orbit of the solar system, as the modern scientist would understand it. According to them, the material elements of the Earth were of two kinds namely, eternal in the form of the indestructible “ Pudgala ” (atoms) and non-eternal in the form of their products. Each material element was a substratum of a corresponding organ, not in its physiological entity, but as its superpysical background. In this system of equivalences, the earth is the substratum of the organ of smell.

It appears that Aśoka's vision was coloured by the limitations of the above said scientific thinkers. He does not seem to understand the concept of Dharma-cakra as the way to Nirvāṇa or the theory of Kāla-cakra,

which used Smell (Gandha) along with Sight (Rûpa) , Sound (Śabda) , Taste (Rasa) and Tactile sensation (Sparsa) to prove into the mystery of Karṇahrāndhra and Brahmahrāndhra (the gap between the ears and the brain). Judging from his worship of Kanakamuni, Aśoka's understanding of the saint's theory was still useful for executing beneficent activities on the basis of the half-digested scientific theories as follows :

“ This man is composed of five elements ;
And when he dies, earth returns to earth,
Water to water, fire to fire,
Wind to wind, and the senses go back to Ether. ”

This was a popular theory in Aśoka's Pāṭaliputra to the effect that, when a man dies, his body dissolves into the five elements : it returns to its constituents and each one of the five elements disappears into its cosmic atomic equivalents. But the Earth and the Heaven are separate entities. In fact, in his ninth rock edict of Mansherā (Buhler, Ep. Ind II, p. 458) Aśoka follows the dictum of Dhammapada (v. 126) to the effect that “ Svarga and not Nibbāna ” was the goal of his Dharma. Thus we see that he did not understand the real implication of Śākyamuni's Dharma-cakra calculated to improve the nature of man by the Eight fold Aryan paths of plain living and high thinking. Against such a narrow religious background it is too much to expect from Aśoka that he ever understood the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra, which tried to transform our earthly space into a Heaven by improving our behaviour in and through the Yogic practices of self-control.

The commemorative pillar inscription of Aśoka in the village of Lumbinī in the Gaṇḍakī region of Western Nepal :

This most interesting inscription was discovered by Dr. Führer as early as 1894-95 and published by the eminent scholar Dr. Bühler (Ep, Ind., V p. 1 ff). This inscription reads :

- (A) Devāna(pi) yena Piyadasina Lājina Visativasābhisitena Atana āgācha mahiyite hida Budhe Jāte Śākyamuni ti
- (B) Silā vigaḍabhi cha Kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpīte hida Bhagabam jāte ti
- (C) Lummini-gāme ubalike kaṭe Aṭṭhabhāgiyecha.

The Oxford group of editors have cut the inscription into three parts and accepted, subject to further researches, the following rendering of the above quoted inscription :

- (A) When King Devānampriya Priyadarśin had been annointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (at this spot), because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here.
- (B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse(?) and caused a stone pillar to be set up (in order to show) that the Bhagabam (the Blessed One) was born here.
- (C) (He) made the village of Lummini free of taxes, and paying (only) an eighth share of the produce.

Criticism :

Much confusion has been created by the misinterpretation of the last two lines (C) of the above quoted inscription by the Oxford editors. Mr. Perceval Landon has devoted his very first, rather discursive but unconvincing Chapter on " The Early Dawn " in his Nepal Volume I, and some unsupported chapters on the imaginary visit of Aśoka to the midland valley of Kolî-grāma (Kathmandu) basing himself entirely on the two closing lines of the above quoted inscription, as they have been rendered by the Oxford Editors. Then, too, he has speculated without valid ground for his conjecture as to the origin of the five stûpas of the city of *Lalitpur*.⁴⁴

There would be no sense in supposing that Aśoka made the village of Lumbinî free from taxes or religious cesses, and in the same breath compelled the villagers of Lumbinî to pay an eighth share of their produce in the way of collective fine for their pursuit of the astropsychic practices of Kāla-cakra. I wonder how the evident contradictions of the two closing lines escaped the notice of the Oxford editors. In the inscriptions and the usages of Nepal, the word " Bali " is used in the sense of offerings or sacrifices made in the " Yajñas " (Sacrificial altars) associated with " Yogic " practices. We have already explained how " Yoga ", " Yajña " and " Bali " are the contributions of the Indus-valley civilisation. From very early times we find the word " Pota " for land revenue and the expression " Kara " for taxes.⁴⁵ The expression " Ubalike, " therefore, is here used

to show Aśoka's revulsion with the performance of "Bali" (Vedic sacrifices) at the birth-place of Śākyamuni. There is no political significance here, but entirely religious. If the Prākṛit expression "Ubalike Kaṭe" were the synonym of the Sanskrit expression "Udbalika kṛtah" in the sense, as the Oxford Editors have accepted it, of making the village of Lumbinî "free of taxes" the meaning cannot be reconciled to the expression "Atha bhāgiyecha" in the sense of "paying an eighth share of the produce." How could Aśoka make the village "free from taxes" and also make it "pay an eighth share of the produce?" It is impossible to reconcile the contradiction.

On the other hand, if we take the expression "Bali" (sacrificial offerings) in the religious sense, the contradictions can be reconciled very easily. What Aśoka actually did was to persuade the villagers from offering "Bali" (Vedic sacrifices) at the birthplace of Śākyamuni and made the villagers share his own conviction of the virtue of pursuing the Eightfold path (namely, Ariya Aṭṭha Aṅgiko muggo or in other words the Aryan Eight fold path known as Aṣṭāṅga) preached by the Mahāśhramaṇa. What is most significant is the fact that we do not find the same expression in Aśoka's pillar inscription dedicated to Buddha Kanakamuni in the adjacent village of Niglihavā, which only means that nobody in Nepal felt any objection to Kanakamuni's cosmic theory or to Kapilamuni's Sāṃkhya system of philosophy. As already pointed out, the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph was the cause of the dissension between the theory of Dharma-cakra and Kāla-cakra. "Bali" or Vedic sacrifices as we have explained, had become a part of the practice of "Yoga" (self-control) and "Yajña" (sacrifices) advocated by the astropsychic theory of Death known as Kāla-cakra.

System of taxation of the Mauryas :

On the authority of the accounts of the Greek Ambassador, Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, the Mauryan state was entitled to receive one fourth share of the produce and not one eighth share as indicated by the Oxford Editors. According to Mr. Ghosal's Hindu Revenue system (p. 58) the normal rate was half of the produce and the rates of interest were exorbitant and varied with the castes of the people in Brāhmanic India.

The system of land-tenure and revenue in ancient Nepal :

The same was not true of Nepal. It is said that the Śākya of Kapilavastu and the Kolis of Rāmagāma were on the verge of a battle on the question of distributing channel water in a fair way; and it was Śākyamuni who negotiated a peaceful settlement. Judging from the early inscriptions of Nepal, the canal systems seem to be very well organised and the land was divided into three categories namely—Awal (First-class), Dwayam (second class) and Sim (Third class). The lands were measured and taxed according to the productive capacity of the land. There is no record in the inscriptions of Nepal to show that the principles and practices of land tenure and taxes ever having conformed to the codes of Manu, which entitled the state to one sixth, one eighth or one twelveth of the share of the produce. We find a terrific struggles in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, when the Brāhmanic dictum of Manu was being introduced during the *Licchavi period*..⁴⁶

Difference of opinion among the European editors on the interpretation of the Aśokan inscription of Lumbinî :

The Oxford group of editors and Mr. Vincent Smith had their difference on the interpretation of the Aśokan inscription under review. Mr. Smith interpreted the grant with which the inscription closes “ free of religious cesses and declared entitled to the eighth share (of the produce claimed by the Crown). The Oxford editors agree with Thomas (Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1914, pp. 391 f.) in believing that “ Bhāgiya ” must mean “ pay a share ” and not, as Messrs Fleet and Smith thought, “ entitled to a share. ” In conclusion, all the European critics are one in their inability to guess what Aśoka himself intended and the Oxford Book satirically remarks that, in the case of Lumbinî, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. It is a sad commentary on the credulity and gullibility of human nature that the misinterpretation of the two closing lines of the Aśokan inscription of Lumbinî should totally obscure the deeply religious conflict implied and make the symbols, chronologies, millennias, inscriptions, basreliefs, sculpture and architecture obtaining in Nepal,—totally unintelligible to mankind.

There are other points of differences and they are firstly, that Mr. V. A. Smith gives a slightly different translation of the Aśokan inscription, of

which the improtant variation is to the effect that the expression “ silāvi-gaḍabhi chā ” indicates “ A great railing of stone.” The excavation of Lumbinî has not revealed any railing of stone. On the other hand, a very ancient copper-vase, like the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase, has been unearthed, but most unfortunately, there were no letters on it. Evidently, there were stûpas of Gautama’s time of unknown saints, when Aśoka visited Lumbinî. The Oxford interpretation admits that the translation of “bearing a horse” still needs some definite proof that “ Vigada ” means a horse. Messrs Carpentiar and Hultzsch have translated the sentence “ silāviḍabhi cha ” as a “ stone bearing a horse.”

The pillars of Aśoka were crowned by representations of the Elephant, the Lion, the Bull and the Horse on Persian or Greek models. From the religious point of view, the Lion and the Bull are the Vāhanas (mounts) of the Great Mother Goddess and of Paśupati respectively so well represented in Moheñjodāro. Equally, the Elephant is a symbol of strength and power. The horse is an Indo-Aryan animal and figures prominently in the Vedic sacrifices of “ Aśvamedha.” These animal-pillar-capitals of Aśoka have been widely commented by international scholars to need a detailed study.⁴⁷

The record of Buddhist chronicles on the visit of Aśoka :

We have already quoted the chronicles of Nepal as to the visit of Aśoka to Nepal during the reign of the Kirānti King Thunko. The Buddhist chronicle records the same visit as follows :

“ Accompanied by old and venerable Upa Gupta (Aśoka’s preceptor) who was thoroughly versed in the tradition of the faith, Aśoka visited Lumbinî in great state. Four battalions of troops followed him, and the perfumes, flowers and garlands were not forgotten. Arrived at the garden (of Lumbinî), Upa Gupta extended his right hand and said to Aśoka, “ Here, O Great King, the Venerable One (Śākyamuni) was born,” adding “ At this site excellent to behold, should the first monument be consecrated in honour of the Buddha.” The King, after giving one hundred thousand coins to the people of the country, raised a pillar and retired.”

Both the Nepalese chronologies and the Buddhistic chronicles agree that there was no imposition of taxes. A comparative study of the Nepalese

chronicles, the Buddhistic records and the Brāhmanic accounts of the period reveal that while the Brāhmins of Jambūdvīpa make a vile use of the title of Devānāmpiya (beloved of the gods) as being tantamount to that of a fool and villify Aśoka the Great, the Nepalese and the Buddhistic records are true to the kindred spirit of Heaven and Home.

The accounts of Nepalese chronicles after King Thuñko (Sthuñko) :

After having described all that had happened in connection with the visit of Aśoka during the reign of the Kirānti King Sthuñko, the Nepalese chronicle proceeds to say that King Thuñko's son and successor was Gighri. Then the names of the following Kirānti Kings are mentioned namely, Nāné, Lūk, Thor, Thoko, Burma, Gujā, Puṣhka, Keśu, Sugā, Sansa, Guṇan and Khimbu. These Kiranti kings lived in an inaccessible Durbar, built in the jungles of Gokaṇṇa. The Nepalese chronology, then, quaintly remarks that these Kirāntis began to kill the jackals which infested the place, and these animals took refuge in *Gupteśvara* on the banks of the river Vāgwatī; they raised a small mound, which was called *Jambuka Dobbānī* or the hillock of the Jackals. The Kirānti King Paṭuka (Paṭika) is believed to be the son of King Khimbu. It was during his reign that the Śomavaṃśis (the descendents of the Śakāḥ Haumavargāḥ of the Akhaemenian inscriptions) appear to have attacked the Kirānti Rājās from the West. As a result of this attack, King Paṭuka appears to have left his fortress of Gokaṇṇa and fortified himself at a distance of four Kos (about 15 miles to the south), across the Saṅkhamūla.

King Gasti—the son and successor of Paṭuka, was very hard pressed by the Śomavaṃśi Śakas and fled from his new Durbar. Then, the Śomavaṃśi Śakas subdued the Kirāntas. Before we take up the history of these Śakas as a political power in the next chapter, it is well for us to examine the religious development from the point of view of Nepalese chronology. These were the same gold race (Suvarṇagotra) peoples who introduced the concept of Eras in lieu of dynastic rules and consummated the negative aspects of Nirvāṇa Era by the positive introduction of Kāla-cakra and Bhairavi-cakra in historical sequences. In fact, the Śaka Era founded in 78 A.D. was the contribution of these Śomavaṃśi Śakas and Kushānas. It is remarkable, however, that the Brāhmanic influence seems to be grow-

ing with them, so that the chronological tradition of the Dharma-cakra (505 B.C.) and the consequent Nirvāṇa Era and the implication of the Kāla-cakra-Era (480 B.C.) seem to be getting mixed up with the fantastic concept of Kali-Yûga (3102 B.C.) in the name of Yudhiṣṭhira Era. Nevertheless the millennias of 78 A. D., 467 A. D., 576 A. D. and of the 879 A.D. have survived the Brāhmanic impact to emerge as authentic factors in the inscriptions of Nepal. Professor L. Petech is of the opinion that the Nanda, Maurya Yudhiṣṭhira and Śudraka eras do not seem to have *existed*.⁴⁸

With the conflicting interests of the three principal religious adherents, we do find a great deal of garbling during the dynastic period of each and every king. Though their reigns may have been brief or long, yet with the thread of chronology our mind can stretch out to the unlimited life of the past. We can think of the great men who have made history. Still more striking is the fact that the Himālayan peoples have been aware that the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati live with them. Moheñjodāro brought happiness and also death and destruction. For ages different peoples under special circumstances have ruled the weaker among them and some of them have done a lot of good and others have done a lot of evil. Had there been no Moheñjodāro (the city of the Dead), there would have been no Mother Goddess and no Paśupati to be our Saviour. As the locomotive needs a motor to move it, so the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati have been the motive of the actions of all the Himālayan tribes. The Śakas may have defeated the Kirāntas, but Paśupati appears to have become the bond of friendship between them. Although this event is expressed in a Kali-gata Era, I am sure the Era referred to is the Śaka Era of 78 A.D. Let us for a while pursue our chronology to see how that happened.

The first king of this lunar dynasty of the Śakas was Nimiṣa. Although we find a lot of garbling by interested sectarian scribes yet it was during the reign of his great grandson Paśuprekṣa Deva that the temple of Paśupati, which had been dilapidated, had been rebuilt. No important event has been attributed to the reigns of Nimiṣa's son Mitākṣa and his grandson Kāka Varmma. Historically, the name Nimiṣa bears very close resemblance to the mysterious name of the Śaka king Bessus who opposed Alexander the Great in the latter's campaign of Bactria.

King Bhāskara Varmma—the son of Paśuprekṣa Deva appears to have gone out at the head of a vast army to the four quarters of the globe and conquered the countries as far as the ocean. By the assistance of Paśupati Mantras (spells) he subdued many countries, and brought back much gold, which he dedicated to Paśupati. He also caused Paśupati to be bathed with water containing gold, which ran down to the Vāgwatī. He is said to have enlarged into a town the village of Deva Pattana which was founded by the Śākya Deva Pāla. This town he named Suvarṇapurī (the golden town). He entrusted the daily worship, and the ceremonies accompanying it to married Ācāryas (Degree holders) of the Buddhist faith.

The rules and ceremonies to be observed he caused to be engraved on a copper-plate which he lodged with the monks (Bhikṣus) of Chārumatī Vihāra. He dedicated Suvarṇapurī (Deo Patan) to Paśupati and prayed to Paśupati that he might have no children. He, therefore, appointed as his successor one Bhūmi Varmma, a Kṣatriya of the solar dynasty of Gautama Gotra, who had been one of the followers of the Śākya Siṃha Buddha of Kapilavastu, and had remained in Nepal after his departure. Shortly after this Bhāskara Varmma died.

It is remarkable how, by a few deft strokes of their pens, the Nepalese chronologists make the invading lunar dynasty of the Śākas accept the indigenous cult of Paśupati within a matter of four generations, how they describe the vast conquests of the rising power of the Śākas under the inspiration of the cult of Paśupati, how they bind the Lunar Dynasty of the Śākas in bonds of dynastic tradition with the solar dynasty of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu and how they preserve the Śaivite and the Buddhist religious tradition of Nepal.

With these achievements to their credit, the Nepalese chronologists proceed with some of the names of their national heroes namely Bhūmi Varmma, Chandra Varmma, Barkha Varmma, Sarva Varmma, Jyeṣṭha Varmma, Hari Varmma, Kuvera Varmma, Siddhi Varmma and Haridatta Varmma. As their names indicate, it was during the reign of these Kings that the cult of Viṣṇu and of Bhāgavata-dharma appears to be established on the broad and ancient bases of the four Dikpālas (rulers of the four

cardinal compass corners) namely, Dola-śikhara Svāmin (vulgo-Changu Nārāyaṇa), Śikhin Nārāyaṇa, Ichangu Nārāyaṇa, Biṣaṅkhu Nārāyaṇa and Ananta Jalaśayana Nārāyaṇa.

The chronology proceeds to mention Basudatta Varmma, Pati Varmma, Śiva-Vṛddhi Varmma, Vasanta Varmma, Śiva Varmma, and Rudra Deva Varmma, whose names reveal that Śaivism and Brāhmanism were having consubstantiation at the expense of Buddhism. The Vaiśnavite monuments attributed to the reign of these lines of kings, still extant, are standing examples of the growing influence of Vedic Brāhmanism. We can read the perturbation of the Buddhist scribes and the importation of the Buddhist preachers, till King Vṛṣa Deva Varmma seems to be reconverted to the path of the Saugatas. At this stage we see the attempt of the Brāhmanic scribes to take him to hell according to the story of Kāraṇḍa Vyūha and bring Vṛṣa Deva back to life in order to prove the authenticity of the Brāhmanic concept of Heaven and Hell. We can read the heat and bustle of the period in the reign of King Śhaṅkara Deva and Dharmma Deva till the latter died in his battle for “ Dharmma. ”

The inscriptions of King Māna Deva I.

King Māna Deva was the son of King Dharmma Deva through his queen Rājyavatī. Though the Brāhmanic chronologies neglect his achievements, his inscriptions have survived to give us the dimension in depth of his concept of Bhairavi-cakra and of the Māna Deva Era. We now take one of the inscriptions of King Māna Deva I to show how he reacted to Vedic Brāhmanism and Buddhism in his new scheme of Bhairavi-cakra, which he started in Saṃvat 389 of the Śaka Era corresponding to 467 A.D.

A comparative study of the Aśokan inscription of Lumbini and the inscription of King Māna Deva I in Trigangā to the south-east of the temple of Paśupati :

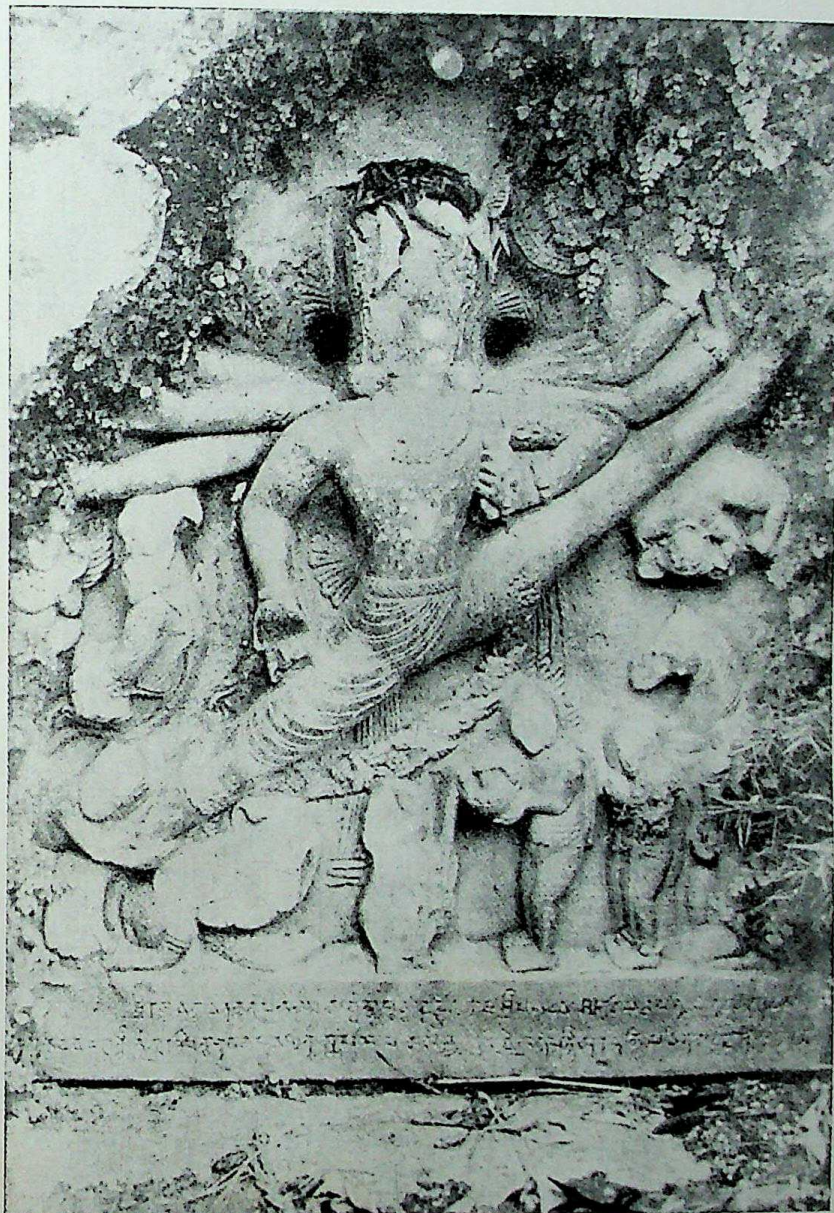
The inscription reads :

Saṃvat 300 80 9 :

Vaiśākhaśukla diva 2.

1. Mātuḥ Śhrī Rājyavatyā hitakṛtamanasaḥ sarv-
vadā puṇyavṛddhyai Rājā Śhrī Mānadevaḥ
śubhavamāmatih pātrādānāmbuvārsī(//)
lakṣmīvat kārayitvā bhavanam iha śubham
sthāpayāmāsa samyak Viṣṇum Vikrāntamūrt-
tiṃ suraṃnimahitaṃ sarvvalokaikaṇātham(//)

Plate No. XI



King Māna Deva's dated basrelief of Vāmana (the fifth incarnation of Vishṇu as a Midget in three Vedic Steps) in Tri-gaṅgā (confluence of three rivulets to the south-east of the temple of Paśupati).

To render the above inscription into English :

- Samvat 389 (467 A.D.) 1. For the perpetual increase of the (spiritual) merits of mother Śhrî Rājyavatî, King Śhrî Māna Devaḥ of pure and progressive conscience and donor of gifts to the deserving like water.
- The month of 2. Has caused to be built this beautiful (architectural) structure of good auspicion and has
Vaiśākha (April-May)
Bright fortnight 2 : equally set up this basrelief of Viṣṇu in the dreadful pose (of taking the Three Vedic steps) worshipped by the gods and saints (as) the sole Master of the Lokas (the three Lokas namely, the Heaven, the Earth and the Nether-world of Hell).

Location :

This interesting inscription forms part of a basrelief of the fifth incarnation of Viṣṇu Vikrāntamūrtti as a Vāmana, at the confluence of a small rivulet flowing in through the Gauchar airport and the river Vāgwatî known locally as the Tri-gaṅgā (Tri-junction) about one furlong to the south-east of the temple of Paśupati. This inscription is identical with that of Lājanpāt (Levi's Le Nepal Vol. III Inscription No. 2) which is presently preserved in the new building of the National Archives. This particular basrelief still lies in a very bad state of preservation in the midst of a field equidistant between the Poḍey-Tola and Rājeśvarî-Ghāṭa and is served by a small pool of water known as Vāmana-Kuṇḍa, where the Nepalese peoples flock for their ablutions on what is known locally as Vāmana Dvādaśi (second day of the lunation as indicated in the inscription) of the bright half of the month of Bhādra (August-September) two days in advance of Ananta-chaturdaśi specially dedicated to the worship of this particular incarnation of Viṣṇu in the pose of taking the Universe in three incomprehensible strides. The relief represented, as is shown by the attestation, is the image of Viṣṇu in his frightful aspect of the Ṛgvedic Three Steps, who is being worshipped by the gods and the saints, as the sole Lord of the Brāhmanic three worlds namely Heaven, Earth and the Nether

world of darkness or Hell. This image of Viṣṇu, who is crowned by a mitre, has eight arms, one of which holds the Sudarśana-cakra (in lieu of Dharma-cakra), another holds the bludgeon, yet another a fly-whisk and other implements of war, while one hand rests on his thigh gripping the Jewel sent up to his hand by his consort Lakṣmî through the stem of a Lotus in order to augment his power. On the whole, the eight arms of Viṣṇu, represented by this image in semi-profile, express violent movement and striking power, as it suits a god who tries to cover the three worlds in two steps with the Third Incomprehensible step stretched up to no body knows, where ? This is the fifth incarnation of Viṣṇu in succession of the Matsya (the Fish), of the Kacchapa (the tortoise), of the Vārāha (the man-boar), and of the Narasiṃha (Man-Lion), who are very well represented in the Śaka and the Licchavi sculptures of *Nepal*.⁴⁹ In strict accordance with the convention of early Nepalese art, the tree of life sprouts from the body of the Mother Goddess lying at the foot of Viṣṇu on the left, along with a figure who holds the Lord's feet to drag Him down to the Nether-World after the Second Step. The Garuḍa is seen to trail behind Lakṣmî in a state of trepidation with folded palms. The right foot of Viṣṇu is directed upwards kicking a grisly leonine face in the sky, who is seen to gape and yawn at the impact. There are two big holes beside the two eyes of Viṣṇu to show that the image is based on the Ṛgvedic Revelation of Kaṇḍahrandhra and not definitely on the Yogic path of Perception represented by *Bramahrandhra*.⁵⁰ The image wears ear-pendants, necklets and armlets along with a Yajñopavita (sacred thread) to show Brāhmanic influence.

The Legend :

To explain the allegory of this basrelief, we can read the prologue of the miracle in the right angle, where we see King Balî (vis-a-vis the expression Ubalika contained the Aśokan inscription) pours out the libation from his jug to consecrate the gift of the three steps of land on the hands of the dwarfish Vāmana, who has asked it from King Balî to the latter's amusement. Behind the King we see his wife and two servants, one of whom leads a horse while the other ducks down unable to defend the horse (on the horse Balāha read Divyāvadāna p. 120 ff; Mahāvastu III 73 vis-a-vis

the “ silā-vigaḍa ” or the statue of horse put up by Aśoka on his pillar inscription of Lumbinî) at the sudden miracle. The manuscript of Kāraṇḍavyūha deals extensively with the question of the horse “ Balāha ” with a veiled reference to the Brāhmanic sacrifice of “ Aśvamedha ” or horse sacrifice. This subject has attracted the attention of eminent western research workers namely, Golubew (De cheval Balāha, BEFEO, 1927, p. 223 ff.) and Finot in his Etudes Asia antique (I. p. 229). Above this interesting horse we find a somersaulted person, whose attitude is expressive of his downfall from the high-kicking miracle of Viṣṇu. All in all, we can clearly read the allusion in this basrelief to the effect that King Balī, who visited the village of Lumbinî to make it “ Ubalika ” (free from sacrifice) and set up the equestrian statue in commemoration of “ Dhamma vijaya ” (victory of the Eight spoked wheel of Law) was overthrown from power and himself made into a Bali (sacrifice) by the trick of the Vedic God Viṣṇu who approached the powerful King under the disguise of the *dwarfish Vāmana*.⁵¹ But the story does not end there.

This basrelief is equally a scathing criticism of the dictum of Ṛgveda (1. 155. 5), which upheld the theory that Viṣṇu covers the Three worlds in two strides and the third step is unfathomable. Here the Leonine figure is a limiting factor to Viṣṇu's Third Step, because the world of King Māna Deva seems to be aware of the vastness of space and asterisms so that the cosmos was far too wide and mysterious to be covered by the Three vedic steps of the Almighty Viṣṇu. So King Balī seems to regain his composure from the somersault to hold the foot of revolutionary Viṣṇu and to force him to descend down to the Hades to live together with him (King Balī). This basrelief, therefore, holds the most tremendous secret of the history of Nepal, inasmuch as it attacks both the Ṛgvedic Revelations of Viṣṇu's Three Steps and the Hinayānist concept of the Buddhistic Three Jewels. It is a signpost to heed and warning to guide us to the new concept of Bhairavi-cakra.

As the letters “L” and “R” are interchangeable in the Prākṛt and the Sanskrit languages, the similarity of expressions in the two inscriptions under review namely “ Rājā ” for “ Lājina, ” “ Kārayitvā ” for “ Kālāpita, ” “ Muni ” for “ Muni ” and “ Mahitam ” for “ Mahiyite ”—is so striking as to lead as to believe that King Māna Deva I had the Aśokan inscription

of Lumbinî in view, when he undertook to parody the R̥gvedic Revelation of Viṣṇu against the background of the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra. In spite of his physical beauty, Māna Deva does not consider himself requited unless he has a clear conscience and he is ready to pay only those who deserve it. This means clearly that it is not the Brāhmanic sacred thread nor the Buddhistic saffron robe but their example as good men of clean conscience that would command his respect. This precisely is Māna Deva's definition of a "Pātra." Beal's Buddhist record of the Western world (1884, Vol II, p. 24) contains the account of Hsüan-tsang, who visited Lumbinî eight hundred years after the visit of Aśoka to the same haloed spot as follows :

" By the side of the stûpa (of Lumbinî) is a great stone pillar; on the top of it is the figure of a horse, which was built by the Aśokan Rājāh. Afterwards by the contrivance of a dragon, it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. But Hsüan-tsang ignores the contents of the Aśokan pillar inscription for the simple reason that, eight hundred years after the execution of the script, no body in India could read them. But Nepal had preserved the legend of King Balî and the surreptitious Vāmana, who outwitted him, in the voluminous manuscripts of Kārāṇḍavyûha and we find the influence of this celebrated work on the basrelief of King Māna Deva. The tell-tale horse " Balāha " gives as much a clue to the missing horse of the capital of the Aśokan pillar as to vainglorious sacrificial performance of Aśvamedha by the victorious Indo-Aryans. "

The millennia of the transition to Bhairavi-cakra :

A clear and precise date emerges on the frontons of the Nepalese inscription of King Māna Deva I on the wake of the Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka Era known as Kṛtayûga started by Kaniṣka in 78 A. D. after their official acceptance of the cult of Paśupati in the scheme of Siva Ravi locana or Vairo cana (Śiva and Buddha). So, the Śaka Era of 78 A. D., the Māna Deva Era of 467 A.D., the Aṃśuvarmān Era of 576 A. D. and the Nepali Era of 879 A.D. are the continuation of the same Era under progressive religious circumstances. Before the appearance of the gifted tribes of the Suvarṇagotra Śakas over the Himālayan horizon as defacto rulers, there was no concept of Eras and the passage of time was recorded in dynastic

periods. But the turning of Eight spoked Wheel of Law by Śākyamuni roughly in 505 B.C. and the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph after the Great Passing started the major search for human values and the millennias were recorded by the Śākyas and the Śakas in specific historical periods ; and this is of tremendous significance. The evidences of the Śaka sculptures, coins and Nepalese chronologies are fundamental in assessing the rise of the Śakas as factors in the political horizon of the Himālayas.

The historical perspective gets clear, when we look into the political picture of Northern India under the rule of Puṣhya Mitra,—the commander-in-chief of the last of the Mauryas, (about circa 184 B.C. to 148 B.C.) who overthrew his liberal Master in favour of a Brāhmanic revival. The first political action of Puṣhya Mitra of the Suṅga dynasty was the founding of the capital of Śāketa in the Kingdom of Ayodhyā in lieu of the Mauryan capital of Pāṭaliputra. What political relation the dynasty of Puṣhya Mitra bore to the Greek King Milinda (Menander 130 B.C.-110 B.C.) and how he reacted to the steady rise of the political power of the most interesting tribes of the Śakas, who founded the Eras seen on the fronton of the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, would form part of the following Chapter VI. For one thing, Puṣhya Mitra encouraged his poet laureate Vālmiki to write the present edition of the epic of Rāmāyaṇa, which had a tremendous influence in the then known world. We find the growing influence of the epic of Rāmāyaṇa on Nepal. This was a great contribution in the field of culture.

But with the usual Brāhmanic ingenuity, the Kauśikans with their own interest in view, tried to undo the good works of the Śakas by introducing false eras, foundationless dynastic histories and caste systems, so that the vision of the nationalist India that the Mauryan Emperors had set up was defeated. However, much the Brāhmanic revivalists eulogised their Suṅga Masters, the Empire of the Mauryas disappeared and the extent of Puṣhya Mitra's kingdom did not extend beyond his immediate neighbourhood. The whole of the Punjab went under the direct rule of the Indo-Greek King Milinda (Menander). On the authority of Pāṭanjali (one of the priests of Puṣhyamitra's court who had accepted the Yoga system of the Pāsupat Yogins),—the Greek King went so far as to invade Śāketa—

the new capital of the Suñgas. For a comparison with the Mauryan Empire, Aśoka's inscription of Shābāz-garhi located in Peshawar in Prākṛt language and Kharoṣṭhī script (Bühler, Ep. Ind., II, p. 246f) on the eighth year of his anointment (c 262 B.C.),—claims only one victory over the Kingdom of Kālīṅga comprised within the present districts of Purī and Ganjam. Among the Pratyantas (Kingdoms or States on the frontier of the Mauryan Empire) are mentioned Aparānta comprised by Northern Konkan, the so far unidentified tribes of the Nābhaka and Nābhapaṃti of the Himālayas, the Yavanas, Kambocha, the inhabitants of Gandhāra, the Cholās and the Pāṇḍyas. Among the foreign kings outside the bounds of the Jambūdvīpa are mentioned Antiokhos II Theos of Syria and Western Asia (261-246 B.C.) and four kings beyond his border namely Magas of Kyrene in North Africa (C. 282-258 B.C.), Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (277-239 B.C.) and Alexander either of Epirus (272-255 B.C.) or Alexander of Korinth (252-244 B.C.).

But the world has not forgotten the beneficent works of Aśoka. He stands as a solitary military monarch in the history of mankind, who took to the Eight-fold-path of the victory of “Dhamma” after the sickening carnage of his war with Kālīṅga. He was disgusted by what he saw of the cruelties and horrors of war and devoted himself to the attainment of “Svarga” (Heaven) by right aspiration, right effort and right livelihood. He organised a big campaign for the digging of wells and the planting of trees by the road-sides of sultry northern India for giving shades to the weary travellers from far and near. He founded hospices, hospitals and herbal gardens for the growing of medicinal herbs and endowed scientific research in the field of medicine. He shunned religious fanaticism and devoted himself to social welfare by creating a Ministry for the care of the aboriginals and the down-trodden peoples under the inspiration of the historical Buddhas. He made provision for the education of women and his people along scientific lines, so that they may have a common outlook on life. He appointed competent officers to supervise all charitable activities. He reorganised the Buddhist order, so that the monks may spread the teachings of Śākyamuni beyond the bounds of his Empire.

The world joins the late Mr. H.G. Wells in paying tribute to this eminent Emperor as follows :

“ For eight and twenty years Aśoka worked sanely for the real needs of men. Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, Their Majesties, and Graciousnesses and Serenities and Royal Highnesses and the like, the name of Aśoka shines, and shines alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the name of Constantine and Charlemagne.”

CHAPTER VI

*The rise of the Saka peoples in the political horizon of Asia and their contacts with the Indo-European, the Tibeto-Burmese and the Chinese peoples.*⁵²

The religious dilemma of Aśoka :

We have pointed out in Chapter V how Aśoka's concept of "Dhamma" (Law) as expressed through his edicts in India proper contains hardly any theology or philosophy. But if the import of Aśoka's commemorative inscriptions in Niglihavā and Lumbinî in the kingdom of Nepal is religious that of the recently discovered bilingual inscription in Kandāhār seems to be political. For, Aśoka lays emphasis on the Aryan Eight-fold-Paths in the inscription of Lumbinî in order to ban Vedic sacrifices and the practice of " Yoga " (self-discipline) to the neglect of the " Yogācāra " doctrine of Upāli and the earliest Buddhistic literature of " Khandhaka " and of the Haimavata (Himālayan) school, all of which seem to have come into existence more than one century before his accession to power. Similarly the peculiarity of the Aśokan inscription of Kandāhār in Afghanistan is that, after 10 years of his practices of justice (Dhamma) he is imbued with the idea of ridding the Greek-Speaking peoples of their mental complexities so much so that the Greek version precedes the usual Aramaic version.⁵³ On the other hand, judging from Aśoka's advocacy of " Porana Pakiti " (the ancient laws of nature) in his Brahmagiri Edict, he does not appear to be a theologian or a philosopher but a scientist on the line of Buddha's Kakusandha, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa or Kapilamuni. We also find many non-Gautamic and anti-Vinaya elements of the pre-canonical period in the concept of " Dhamma " broadcast by Aśoka, to which Professor Schayer's " New contributions to the problems of pre-Hinayānist Buddhism " bears eloquent testimony. Except for the solitary mention of the Aryan-Eight-fold-paths in the inscription of Lumbinî, we do not find in Aśokan inscriptions the mention of the deeper tenets of Buddhism in the shape of four noble truths, the chain of causation and the idea of " Nibbāna " in the sense of emancipation. Aśoka's belief in the gods of Heaven and in the existence

of soul are logically and metaphysically inconsistent with a faith which denies the existence of "Ātman" (soul).

In previous chapters we have adequately discussed the Śaivite legend of Virûpakkha (Virûpākṣha) and Hû-ṣa in the spiritual scheme of the astro-psychic theory of Death known as "Kāla-cakra" even during the lifetime of Śākyamuni as the psychological factor in cultivating and regulating HUMAN WILL in order to get rid of our "Atta" in the sense of Ego and of the original sin complex in the frail nature of man. There is no mention in the whole gamut of Aśokan inscriptions of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph or of the religious dissensions of Upāli based upon the Yogācāra doctrine of Haimavata (the Himālayan) School. According to Frauwallner the reason for the non-inclusion of the Haimavata school in the very first Buddhist Council of Rājagṛha held under the leadership of Mahākāśyapa is the fact that it went its own way in the dogmatic field and accepted, alone among the Sthaviras (the elders), the *five theses* which caused the split of the Mahāsāṃghika from the Sthavira. This is the Kāśyapīya group which was not handed down; and we do not find the Vinaya (monastic rule of discipline) of *Kāśyapīya* in the Chinese translation. But again a very ancient much quoted tradition enumerates five Vinaya Schools namely Mahāsāṃghika, Sarvāstivādin, *Kāśyapīya*, Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka. The author establishes as to the Vedic sources for the earliest Vinaya Schools to the neglect of the Yoga School which however, appears to have caused the schism. The archaeological remains of the earliest Śaivite symbols and relics among several villages in the vicinity of Niglihavā and Lumbinī and the worship of Yakṣa Śakyavardhana as Isvaradeva by the Śākyas of Kapilavastu are standing examples to testify to the fact that the psychological cult of sensory perception and the legend of Virûpakkha and the Great Mother Goddess of Fertility were there before the Vedic impact of the Indo-Aryan invaders. We cannot deny the influence of the Asura (Assyrian) prince Pahārādo on the Asurasūtra attributed to Śākyamuni. The trend of the heretical opinions invariably concerns the hindering element of sex in the scheme of Prātimokṣa after the Nirvāṇa and the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph; and the protagonists of the different schools of Vinaya manipulate Śākyamuni's discourses or quote his 'pupils or his next of kin to their own advantage.⁵¹ On the basis of the scientific

works of the French Savant Sylvain Levi and his School, E. Frauwallner deserves to be congratulated for the most efficient treatise on "The earliest Vinaya and the beginnings of the Buddhist literature" and he has quoted all available authorities and has rendered this work invaluable by giving the Chinese translations of the Prākṛt, Samskr̥t and Pāli originals though he does not seem to have studied the contents of the Source materials. Then, too, he has indicated how the human problems after the Great Passing had caused dissensions among Śākyamuni's followers and how there were revolutionary developments under the leadership of Upāli. The author has established with a fair degree of certainty that the Khandhaka texts belonged to the first half of the fourth century B.C. about 100 or 110 years after the *Nirvāṇa Era*.⁵⁵ But due to religious dissensions and dogmatism among the various Brāhmanic and the Buddhistic schools of India, there is so very little mention of the Haimavata School that we have to go to the early Śaivite sources of Nepal or to the Chinese sources of "P'i-ni-mu ching" for the salvaging of the basic concepts. Much has been written about the Second-Buddhist-Council-of-Vaiśālī which appears to have been organised between 100 and 110 years after the Nirvāṇa and the Piprahavā-Buddhist vase-epitaph. "With the aim of bestowing the greatest possible authority upon the elders (patriarchs) of the Council," proceeds Frauwallner in several versions all sorts of monks (namely Sabbakāmi, Sambhūto Sāṇavāsī and Revato) are made-into pupils of Ānanda, of Aniruddha and of Upāli who were the contemporaries and the pupils of Śākyamuni. Then we are told that at that time there lived in Vaiśālī an old monk, the oldest of the whole community, namely Sabbakāmi, and that Yaso and his helpers deemed it expedient to approach him too. The esteem with which Sabbakāmi is surrounded reposes upon his grand age and his rank as the oldest monk in the community. There is therefore a chance that he might still have been a personal pupil of Ānanda. And thus we gain quite credible picture of the situation. It is possible, that at the time of the Council of Vaiśālī there lived a very old monk, who in his young age had been a disciple of Ānanda. But this is a particular case and an exception. The others, Sambhūto, Sāṇavāsī and Revato, were energetic and active heads of schools and they were no decrepit old men. We can thus see how the entire Church history was fabricated during the Second Buddhist Synod.

It is impossible to believe that they could be the disciples of Ānanda by any stretch of our imagination. We reach thus the conclusion that Sāṇavāsī in all likelihood was no pupil of Ānanda, but was arbitrarily placed in relation with him by the author of Church history."

The Third Buddhist Council of Pāṭaliputra appears to have been organised 236 years after the Nirvāṇa Era under the leadership of Tissa Moggaliputta. But we must remember that the data of the Sinhalese chronicles are uncertain on this point. For Aśoka speaks of peoples whereas the Missionary accounts speak of countries where the Mission were deputed :

I. Taking into account the peoples,—mentioned in the Inscriptions of Aśoka (XIII Rock Edict) on whom he has obtained Dhammavijaya (victory of the teaching) are 1 Yona-Kamboja the Nābhaka-Nābhapaṃti (Nabhiti or in other words the self generating new tribes of the Himālayas), the Bhoja-Piṭinikya (Piṭinika), the Adha (Andhra)—Palada, the Greek kingdoms of the Diodochs in the West and the Coda and Paṇḍiya in the south as far as Tambapanni (Lanka-ceylon). Thus we see that the Missions of Aśoka extended to the peoples of the frontier provinces to the north, west and south of the Mauryan Empire. It is noteworthy that the Eastern neighbours of the Mauryan Empire including the newly conquered peoples of Kalinga are not mentioned.

II. The Missionary account (No. 7) speaks of Mission of Kassapagotta to the Himālayan country, the Mission of Majjhantika (No. 1) to Gandhāra and Kashmir, the Mission of Mahārakkhita (No. 6) to the Yonaka country, i.e. the Iranian frontier. Yonakadhammarakkhita (No. 4) worked in Aparāntaka, i.e. Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād; Mahadhammarakkhita (No. 5) in Mahārāṭṭha, the Marāṭha Kānara. It is uncertain where to look for Mahisa, Mahādeva's (No. 2) mission country. To these we can add the Mission territories of Mahinda (No. 9) and Soṇa (No. 8) in Ceylon with this difference that the Buddhists Missionary account attributes the conversion of Ceylon to Tissa Moggaliputta whereas the tradition attributes it to the initiative of Aśoka. It is interesting to note that there is no mention of Buddhist Missions to the Eastern countries as, indeed, in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

“ If, in fact, we try to ascertain more exactly the (original) home of these Schools (namely the early schools of Vinaya) ” proceeds E. Frauwallner “ no doubt is possible concerning the Haimavata.” Then, too, this is confirmed by H. Luders by the discovery of epigraphic evidence in Brāhmī script of the relics of the Haimavata Dudubhisara, of Majhima and of Kassapagotta in Sonari and Stûpa No. 2 at Sānchi in Bhopal. We know from the statement of Śākyamuni as to his country of origin from our religious tradition and from the general consensus of archaeological discoveries in Nepal, that the seats of the earliest Buddhistic schools of Vinaya were in the Himālayas.

Generally speaking the Church history of India, or for the matter of that of any country, is so distorted that we have got to go to the origin, the rise and the gradual spread of the Suvarṇagotra and Kāśyapagotra peoples from Suvarṇabhūmi or Strīrājya in the laps of the Himālayas and beyond to the Iranian, the Greek and the Pahlava frontiers through the Śāka intermediaries who claimed Suvarṇagotra or “ Goldrace origin.” In a way the idea of Kingship obtaining in the early chronology of Nepal seems to be very much more progressive than the various dogmatic Revelatory religious theories or the Kauśikan Devakulas or even of the earliest Buddhistic schools of Vinaya which were tending to grow on their roots. But if the last of the liberal Mauryas still claimed to be the descendents of the Śākyan solar dynasty of Kapilavastu their all-powerful Commander-in-chief Puṣhya Mitra, with the backing of his court poet and historian Vālmiki of Kauśikan origin (namely Kauśikagotra), had cut off his lineal connection from the Śākyas, the Kolīs, the Mauryas and all the Suvarṇagotra and Kāśyapagotra peoples of the Himālayas and linked his progeny to the so-called Solar dynasty of Kāśī. Thus when the dynasty of the Suṅgas under the religious leadership of the Kauśikan religious leaders were cutting themselves away from their Himālayan moorings, the Suvarṇagotra and Kāśyapagotra Śakas, Kasas and Khasas with their growing faith in Mahāyānic Buddhism from its base of psychological Śaivism,—had found their allies with the peoples of north-western countries and Central Asia long before Aśoka, and with the peoples of China after the first century A.D. If the celebrated Mauryan Kings had profited by the liberal doctrines of Plato, Aristotle and Isocrates, Mahāyānic Buddhism tended to develop universal

character on the moral and scientific principles of Suvarṇabhūmi (Gaṇḍakī river valleys) and Nāgadaha (Vāgwatī river valleys) as the contact increased with time. For, Gautama himself, after his difficult mortifications under the bo-tree in BodhGayā, had experienced the melancholy of aloofness from his kith and kin and returned to nature so that he may from his character and his personal views on the wisdom of his ancestral Yakṣa god Śākya-vardhana and his predecessors namely Buddhas Kakusandha, Kanakamuni Kapilamuni and Buddha Kaśyapa who had conceived of ten thousand world-systems and who had confronted the question of social stability through the channel of objective observation and science. But because some of Śākya-muni's teachings were to some extent coloured by the unscientific Kauśikan theories of the recurrence of life and the inevitability of the law of Karma (Fate), the dissensions in the various Schools of Vinaya and the contradictions in the Edicts of Aśoka and the Buddhistic Missions abroad were inevitable.

Who were these Śaka peoples ?

It should be a matter of universal interest to the whole of human community that the Vāgwatī, the Kauśiki and the Gaṇḍakī river valleys on the laps of the Himālayas altogether have played such a great role in shaping the thoughts and careers of the Kaśyapagotra, of the Kauśikagotra and of the Suvarṇagotra peoples, who have produced among them the Śaivite psychologists, the Vedic saints and the revolutionary Buddhas, who have influenced the thoughts of masses of mankind for milleniums of recorded history. This is fundamental in understanding the contribution of the Himālayan summit of the Sumeru, as the cradle of Asiatic civilisation, to the then known world through the emergence of the ever-growing, ever-green and inexhaustible " golden race " of the Śakas who had the unique capacity of absorbing what was best in human relations, in human values and in human knowledge, so that they could mix freely with peoples of other nationalities and forge ahead in an interdependent world.

It might be said in passing that these hybrid Suvarṇagotra and Kaśyapagotra peoples accepted the Śaivite and the Buddhistic teachings, which were more in tune with the Persian, the Greek, the Central Asiatic, the Tibeto-Burmese and the Chinese way of thinking than the orthodox

schools of the Kauśik Brāhmins and the Buddhistic Missions after the Third Council. Inspired by the psychological thoughts of Śaivism, Mahāyāna Buddhism formed the basis and the point of departure of all the mixed tribes who are known at different periods of history as the Śakas, the Kasas, the Khasas, the Śaka-Pahlavas, the Indo-Greeks, the Yüe-chih, the Kushānas, the Kidāras, the Hepthalites or by whatever other names they were called as and when they came into contact with more virile tribes than themselves. Working on the theory that no tribe is an island and that every man and woman is a piece of the ocean of existence, these ever-developing Suvarṇa-gotras (Gold race) with their unwritten Judicial pyramid of Panchayet system became the spearman for establishing a real intellectual and moral community among the Persian, the Indo-Greek, the Yüeh-chih and the Central Asiatic tribes on the one hand and the Indian and the South-East Asiatic tribes on the other.

It would be useful at this stage to recapitulate briefly what we have already written about this Gold race and the Śakas in our first chapter. Long before they distinguished themselves as conquerors, these hybrid Gold-race peoples of all and sundry denominations seem to be forming themselves on the fringes of the Himālayas in isolated pockets. Like all primitive peoples they had a very human and eclectic faith in Śaivism and scientific Buddhism of Haimavata School. Judging from such early place names as Sistān, Limbuān, Khasān and Jaḍān,⁵⁶ they appear to have held dual sovereignty over the various Himālayan principalities with the Kirātas as their Brother-Kings (Dvirājya). Already with the Akhaemenian inscriptions we find the Śakas of various origins standing in opposition to the first Aryan Kings Cyrus, Xerxes and Darius. The mysterious King Bessus, who opposed the Macedonian King Alexander the Great in his campaign of Bactria may be King Nimiṣa of the Lunar clan of the Śakas known in the Akhaemenian inscriptions as the matriarchal clan of the " Śakāh Haumavargah " vis-a-vis the solar pretension of the Śākyas. Then, too, we have pointed out how the long list of Kings appearing in the Nepalese chronicles with the cognomen Varmma (as for examples Bhūmi Varmma, Paśuprekṣya Varmma, Kāka Varmma, Kuvera Varmma etc.) are really the Śaka Kings of the Lunar dynasty, and not definitely the Śākyas, the Kolis and the Licchavis of the Solar dynasty as the Brāhmanic and the

Buddhistic chroniclers of Nepal have presented them to be. But because in many chronicles of Nepal, these Śāka kings have been described as the Licchavis of Vaiśālī Professor Sylvain Levi has erroneously identified the “Kṛta Yuga” (Śāka Era) the Śakas introduced in 78 A.D. as the Licchavi Era of 110 A.D.⁵⁷

Opposed to the Kauśikan race theory of descent from the mouth of the fourheaded androgynous Brāhmanic god of creation Brahmā vis-a-vis the common origin of man from the Yakṣa Virûpākṣa and Hûṣa these various peoples of the Suvarṇagotra (Gold-race) had already made a tentative effort to found the Nirvāṇa-Era based on the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra after the Great Passing of Śākyamuni. But they do not appear to have succeeded in giving a scientific expression to the Kāla-cakra Era till they came into contact with the Indo-Pārthians and the Indo-Greeks, whom they influenced with the concept of the Himālayan God Śiva (Oesho). As a result a syncretistic culture appears to have developed in these semi-nomadic Empires, which, according to Professor Hermann Goetz, was “Iranian-Greek, then Iranian-Indian in daily life, Zoroastrian or Buddhist in religion and culture, Greek in art.” The same author points out that all the great trade routes (silk, gold and spices) of Asia, from China and India to Iran and Rome passed through Śakasthāna so that the commercial towns there grew rich and recovered from all political crisis. Professor Alberto M. Simonetta has nicely reconstructed this aspect of the history of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas with reference to the Eras they founded on the basis of their coins, though the two authors do not seem agree on the *dates*.⁵⁸

Against such a background, it was easy for the Gold-race-peoples to interpret their eclectic cult of Śiva and Mahāyānic Buddhism in its own scheme of Haimavata civilisation, as and when they came into contact with the Iranian, the Hellenistic, the Imperial Roman and the Chinese cultural forces. A comparative study of the early chronicles of Nepal and the chronology and lineal relationship of the various short-lived Śāka dynasties and their coins provides a rich harvest of datas. During this formative period of Asiatic history the art of Śakasthāna (Sistan or Seistan) and Gandhāra appears to have developed and followed rules, in which all the above ele-

ments met and clashed with the result that they have become subjects of heated debate among the historians and expert international art-critics. The Śaivite and the Indo-Aryan gods, who trembled for contact in the Vāgwatî the Kauśikî and the Gaṇḍakî river valleys found a common ground for fusion along with the Iranian and the Greek gods and goddesses who had practically a common origin with the Indo-Aryan deities of the Sky. We will see how this syncretism actually occurred in the coins of the Kushāṇas which ushered in the Kāla-cakra Era vis-a-vis the Nirvāṇa Era after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-Epitaph.

Due to numerical superiority, the Śakas absorbed the Iranians and the Greeks. More because the broad religious factor of early Śaivism, enriched by the Yakṣa cult of Virûpākṣha, had imparted universal character to Buddhism in its scope and appeal. Under the influence of the theory of Kāla-cakra, the Śaka artists very early became interested in the synthetised expression of form and its spiritual and stylistic stance both in the field of sculpture and architecture. In both fields they broke away from the tradition of classical art and asserted themselves as deeply original creators and innovators. From the humble beginning of the stûpas of Nepal-Himālayas, the infinite pagoda of Kaṇiṣka at Purushapur (Peshawar) soar endlessly up the sky, which, on the last analysis, embody the idea of the permanence of Himālayan folklores and their irrepressible creative élan to reach the highest peaks. Equally in the field of sculpture we find evidences of this breakthrough into a new world with the Śaivite superscriptions over the Śaka coins, as well as in the stucco head of a Buddha at Hadda near Kābul where the Third Eye of Virûpākṣha takes the place of Uṣṇîṣa or Urṇa (circular locks of hair over the heads of the Buddhas as marks of enlightenment) to indicate his inner *illumination*.⁵⁹

As already described in previous chapters, the Indo-Aryan language of the Vedic saints and the historical Buddhas were fast developing into a perfect vehicle of universal expression in the form of Sanskrit. So, Sanskrit steadily became the lingua-franca of this new society in this cross-road of Asia. What started from the early Himālayan arc of the Kirānta and Yakṣha civilisation found support from some of the Kauśikan geniuses from the Gangetic end of the arc comprised by the followers of the Yoga schools of

Pāsupat Yogins and Pātanjali and both converged once again in the magnificent courts of the Śakas.

Notwithstanding this brilliant dawn of hope for mankind all the mixed tribes of the Śakas were not saints and sages. There were others like Hepthalites with the predominance of hot Tārtāric blood coursing in their veins, who tried to carry fire and sword into this brave new emerging world. Then, too, there were progressive forces among the many tribes of the Śakas, the Kasas and the Śaka-Pahlavas. One of the most progressive tribes among them were known as Kushāṇas who appear to have stood in the way of the Hepthalites from interrupting the cumulative tradition of this developing civilisation which went ahead to influence masses of mankind of different nationalities in process of time.

The rise of the most interesting tribes of the Kushāṇas in the land of the Śakas :

The dynasty of the Kushāṇas formed by one of the five tribes, into which the Yüe-chih Tartars were divided, was led by rulers of very wide sympathies. The Annals of North-western China in 128 B.C. state that the Imperial Court of the Yüe-chih lay to the north of the Oxus river, while the kingdom of Bactria to the south of the river, though still independent, was in process of accepting the former's suzerainty. However, Mahāyāna-Buddhism had become the point of contact against the background of the Himālayan world-view presented by the Gold-races. The archaeological excavations carried out by the Government of Nepal have yielded positive results as to the development of the Haimavata civilisation before the sixth century B.C.⁶⁰ We have adequately described in previous chapters how the artery of the ancient roads spread out from the heart of the Gaṇḍakī-river-valleys to the South, East, North or West as far as Central Asia and beyond. The Śākyas and the Kolīs appear to have followed the beaten tracks of the Himālayas travelled by the Yakṣas, Kinnaras and Kirāntas in their perigrinations to and fro the Gold-country. Judging from the inscriptions of Śhrī Jīṣṇu Gupta in the vicinity of the village of Kevalpur in Nepal West No. 1 and subsequently of the Khasa Kings Saṅgrāma Malla and Ripu Malla on the Aśokan pillars of Lumbini and Niglihavā, the Licchavis, the Mallas, the Sakas, the Ābhīras and the Khasas seem to have used

the Gold-country as their base for successive waves of migrations to the North-western and the North-eastern *countries*.⁶¹

The chequered history of Gangetic India enters a new phase with the rise of the Kuṣhāṇas to power. If the Indo-Greek king Menander shook the tottering foundation of the Empire of the Suṅgas, the Central Asian nomads namely the Indo-Parthians, the Scythians and the Kuṣhāṇas under the influence of the liberal Suvarṇagotra (Gold-race) peoples put an end to the Divine-race theory of Kauśikans. Of the Śaka-tribes, the Kidāras had become the devotees of Śiva. Though an absolute Godhead was never established, yet it was natural for the Central Asian nomads to be attracted by the Śaivite Shepherd God Paśupati and Mother Goddesses side by side with the Irano-Aryan gods of the sky like Mihira-Mitra (the sun god under the name of Indra), the Mao (the moon god) and with a few Zoroastrian abstractions like Kingly Glory and Perfect Rule without a name or specification. Some of the Greek gods like Zeus, Heracles and Serapis were being synthetised with the local gods. But of all the miscellaneous pantheons the Shepherd God Śiva (Oesho) standing, a trident in hand, in front of his bull (Nandī) or two-handed Śiva with a live deer and Kāla-Pāsa (noose of time) or Śiva Ravi-locana or Three-headed Śiva Vairocana with the Mother Goddess as his consort were most popular. There were also individual preferences for nameless Mahāyānic Buddhas, and Yakṣhas in the form of Atlantids and Yakṣis to represent the beauty and wealth of the Earth Goddess.

It is most interesting to note that the Yakṣha cult of Virūpākṣha, which already was a factor in changing the basic contents of Buddhism in Kapilavastu and in the very first Buddhist council of Rajāgrha with its doctrine of Yoga (self-discipline) on the basis of the Lotus-Jewel symbolism represented by the first vowel Om (ॐ), --appears to have exploited the Hellenistic-Egyptian symbolism of open Lotus flowers and the Iranian Light Deities and finally absorbed it in the Śaivite scheme of Bhr̥ṅgāreśvara (the Master of the closed Lotus and the Black-bee) against the background of the life of the ideal Śaivite ascetic Bhr̥ṅgī. This unique development can only be understood in connection with the political, social and cultural environment of the many different races of people involved in this milieu,

which was expressed and interpreted by the introduction of the millennia of Kṛta-yuga (Śaka Era) in 78 A.D. This mystical date appears on the frontons of the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal as Kṛta-yuga, in the literature of Tibet as the Era of Aṃśuvarmma and in the calendars of the countries of South-East Asia as Mahā-Śakarāja Era.⁶² Before we discuss the religious significance of this Śaka Era, it would be well to outline the political significance, and that is that the Kuṣhāṇas overthrew the Indo-Parthian Empire between 65 and 78 A.D. and made themselves masters of a vast Empire from Lake Aral to Northern China.

We have already seen how the Gold-race of the Gaṇḍakī river valleys had made a tentative effort to found the Nirvāṇa-Era after the Great Passing. Subsequent to this event, the Kauśīk Brāhmins had attempted to found the Kaligata, the Yudhiṣṭhira, Nanda, Maurya and Śudraka Eras in order to justify the dynastic histories indited by the Vedic Brāhmins, but all to no purpose. The reason why they failed is very simple. The Gold-race people had longed for a change of history. Such history, as the Vedic Aryans had, told us of the Divine origin of the Vedas and of the boastful heraldry of good and great men who conquered the non-Aryan Asuras (the demons) of the Indus valley. The historical Buddhas revolted against the Vedic theories of Revelations and put up their own theories of how the cosmos came into existence from the tiniest of fragments (Pudgala-paramāṇu) and how man acquired his consciousness by the natural process of evolution. Śākyamuni came out with his theory of Eight-Spoked-Wheel of Law as the way to Nirvāṇa. But after the Great Passing, the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-Epitaph produced a fly in the ointment. Upāli—the favourite pupil of Śākyamuni dissented and came out with the Yogācāra doctrine based upon the Pāśupata cult of the defeated non-Aryans of the City of the Dead. Nevertheless, Vinayas were indited on the base of the theories of the Vedic Aryans. Emperor Aśoka reemphasised his faith in the Aryan Eight paths to the opprobrium of the cult of Yoga and Yajña propagated by the Pāśupat Yogins who believed in the cult of perception. Half a millenium had passed after the Great Passing, but there was no evidence of the emancipated man or of the new horizon that was promised. Indeed, the past was of real interest, but man's intellect had only woven the spider-web of dogmatic beliefs which lost themselves in their own messes.

The religious significance of Kṛta-yuga (Śaka-Era) of 78 A.D. :

The Nepali Samvats (Eras) appearing in the Licchavi inscriptions and literature of Nepal had exercised the ingenuity of eminent international scholars for more than the last seventy years. Lately Professor Luciano Petech has published the " Mediaeval History of Nepal " and " the Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal " on the basis of the Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters as materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture.⁶³ Further to this, Professor Giuseppe Tucci has produced his " Preliminary Reports and Studies on the Italian Excavations in Swat " (West Pakistan) and also in Afghanistan in passing from Nepal and Tibet, all of which throw light on our own researches in *Nepal*.⁶⁴ We agree with Professor L. Petech that the Śaka, the Māna Deva and Nepālī Samvats are one and the continuation of the same Era. However, we ought to know more about the religious history and social life of the Suvarṇagotra or Kāśyapagotra peoples of the Gaṇḍakī river valleys, and of the Kauśikagotra people of the Kauśikī river valleys to understand why the Śaka Era has been accepted as the calendar year by all the Asiatic peoples even to our own day. Indeed, some historians have interpreted the expression " Kṛta-yuga " as the Era of the Slaves, but the spelling, as it occurs in the Nepalese inscriptions, conclusively prove that the Era refers to the acceptance of the theory of Kāla-cakra with the change of symbols in the hands of Śiva-Kṛttivāsa or in other words, the form of nude Virūpākṣha wearing tiger-skin and holding the symbols of Mṛga (deer) and Kāla-pāṣa (noose) in his hands. After a very long religious struggle, the new political power of the Śakas, for their own special reason, appear to have clothed Virūpākṣha in tiger skin, like his Mother Hūṣa in skin skirt and endowed Śiva-Kṛttivāsa's hands with the Buddhistic symbol of the live deer to indicate its infinite longings for the good things of life and the " Kāla-pāṣa " or in other words the noose of time which binds all mortals with the spell of Death. We have already discussed the impact of the legend of Virūpākṣha on the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph, which the Buddhist world tried to interpret by the various schools of Vinaya and by the cycles of the cult of the Stūpa vis-a-vis the Yogā-cāra doctrine of Upāli. We have also explained how Aśokan Buddhism was more in the nature of the pursuit of Platonic humanism than the psychological quest of human values behind

Plate No. XII



Some stone-caityas from the forecourt of the stûpa of Bhagavān-vahāl showing the minute and effective decoration through the medium of stone and the wide aesthetic vision of eighteen artisan guilds of Koli-grāma (ancient name of Kathmandu).

the "Tragic Faults" under lying the Aeschylan tragedy of King Oedipus and his Mother Jocasta.

During the conflict the Therāvādins of the third century B.C. came out with the Buddhistic confessio fidei of "Ye dhammā hetu pabhavā" in their Abhidhamma piṭaka, which the Hinayāna Buddhist world interpreted in its own particular way⁶⁵ in order to explain their spiritual dilemma. If we turn to the Dialogue of Śākyamuni in the Brahmajālasutta we find that the period of the Upaniṣadas and of the historical Buddhas was most complicated both mentally and morally. The notion that there was underlying order to the seemingly chaotic and capricious cosmos propagated by the Vedic Brāhmins was challenged by the historical Buddhas who had made a scientific approach as to the origin of the world. The Brāhmanic saint Pātanjali had by now recognised the weakness of Vedic contention, and he came out with his Yoga system on old Śaivite roots. As a result, the Vedic Brāhmins had absorbed the Himālayan god Śiva as their Storm-god Rudra of the Vedic pantheon; and Pātanjali went even so far as to rebuke the last of the Mauryan Emperors for their sale of the Śaivite images.

If we critically analyse the teachings of Śākyamuni with reference to his theory of Atta (Ego) versus Anatta (Non-ego, Non-soul) in the scheme of Buddhistic Skandhakas and Sāṃkhya systems of philosophy, none of early Schools of Vinaya could justify Gautama's theory of Nibbāna against the occurrence of the expression "Salilanidhana" (corporal remains) in the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. There must be some other way to attain the state of "Anādinidhana" (state of permanent beatitude) than by the Aryan-Eight-paths prescribed by Śākyamuni. During the lapse of time between the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-Epitaph and the steady rise and progress of the political power of the Śakas, Śaivism and Buddhism appear to have converged into a symbiosis on the sacred shores of the river Vāgwatî in 78 A.D. Thus we see that to the Śāka Saṃvatsara of 78 A.D. was introduced to proclaim the transition to the astro-psychic theory of Kālacakra from the Nirvāṇa Era.

Śhrî Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka Saṃvatsara (Era) :

Although local legends attribute the foundation of the Śhrî-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-Saṃvatsara to a merchant Sakhavā honoured by a kneeling statue

with a conch-shell in an attitude of supplication before the southern-gate of the temple of Paśupati, and although Professor L. Petech in his Mediaeval history of Nepal, claims to have discovered authentic documents to attribute the Nepala-Saṃvat of 801 A.D. to King Rāghavadeva, yet, judging from a badly-scarred Śāka-statue in Viṣṇu-tīrtha by the bank of rivulet Viṣṇumatī attributed to the founder of the Śāka Era in Nepal, it would be difficult to dispute S. Levi's contentions on purely technical grounds that Śhrī-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka Saṃvatsara or the Nepala-saṃvat is not a continuation of the Śāka-saṃvatsara officially started by the Śāka kings in 78 A.D. The climatic and customary differences between Central Asiatic countries and the hinterlands of the Himālayas account for the seasonal changes in the observances and celebrations of the Buddhistic Rain Retreat or of the New Year Festivals associated with the Schemes of Kāla-cakra and Bhairavi-cakra. However, the learned Professor observes : " All this is purely negative criticism, and I am in the awkward position to have nothing positive to suggest. We can, at any rate, surmise that the expression Śrī-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-saṃvatsara implies that the foundation of the era was due to some religious event connected with the national shrine of Paśupati Nāth. But nothing more can be hazarded on this subject. " The Paśupati-praśasti (protocol) in the inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman, the commemoration of Vijayasvāminī (Dhruvasvāminī) by the phallic symbol known as Vijayaśvara in Sūryaghāta dedicated by her daughter Vijyavatī dated Saṃvat 427 (505 A.D.), the immersion of the grey-matter of our forehead in the water of Gaṇḍakī and our confessio-fidei opening with the haloed expression of " Anādinidhana " in lieu of " Salilanidhana, " independent of our ancestral worship,—all these are living examples of the fact that the Śāka calendar was calculated to transform the basic concept and content of Nirvāṇa-era which followed as a practical sequel to the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph after the Great-Passing of Sākyamuni. We have already explained how the Yakṣa legend of Virūpākkha was introduced by the Śaiva-yogins in order to give a new psychological dimension of " Yoga " (self-discipline) to the dogmatic Vedic Revelations and the Buddhistic Skandhakas. Against such a religious background the attribution of Śhrī-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka Saṃvatsara to King Rāghavadeva would be as purile as the inclusion of Kathmandu (Kolīgrāma) in Yāmbi-krama

concerned with the religious scheme of Bhairavi-cakra in a manuscript dated during the reign of a very obscure king Lakṣmikāmadeva, notwithstanding the image of Indra-nāma-divākara (with Śākyamuni on its crown to represent the sun under the name of Indra) dated by Guhamitra in the scheme of Bhairavi-cakra in the heart of our capital as early as 480 A.D.⁶⁶ A comparative study of the early Nepalese chronicles including the Buddhistic chronicles preserved in Ceylon and the subsequent Brāhmanic Vamśāvalis tend to show how the original concept of creation went on gathering corruptions at the hands of the sectarian scribes. Our latest researches in China have yielded adequate materials to show how the early contact of the Chinese peoples with the Yüeh-chih brought about a fundamental change in their mystical Taoist and politico-religious Confucian pattern of *thinking*.⁶⁷

Influence of the Haimavata School of Buddhism on China :

We have already referred in passing to the existence of Yüeh-Chih Empire in 128 B.C. as mentioned in the Annals of China. The Chinese explorer responsible for the statement was Chang Ch'ien who was sent to the country of Yüeh-chih to open up the west as early as 128 B.C. His so-called " report on Buddhism " mentioned in later works is found in apocryphal form to be considered in historical *sense*.⁶⁷ Neither is there any historical basis for Chinese contact with Buddhist Missionaries at this period. Many historians have regarded " the famous golden statue of the Hun King, which in 120 B.C. was captured by the Han General Ho Ch'u-ping in the region of Kara-nor " as being a Buddhist statue. But judging from the account of the earliest of sources to the effect that " the Golden Man was used by the King of Hsieu-ch'u in sacrificing to Heaven " the said image seems to be more in the nature of Brāhmanic Kāla-puruṣa than a Buddhistic *image*.⁶⁸

Much confusion has been created by the record of Yen Chih-t'ui (531-595 A.D.) in his Yen-shih chia-haün XVII to the effect that the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī preached the doctrine of Śākyamuni to the five hundred Tīrthikas (pilgrims) in the Himālayas four hundred fifty years after the Nirvāṇa which would be roughly 30 B.C. Tao-shih, the compiler of the Fa-yüan chu-lin, then identifies these " snow-mountains " with the Ts'ung-

ling (the Pamir plateau in Afghanistan where five frontiers converge today) and concludes that the Tīrthikas mentioned here were inhabitants of Central Asian countries, which lay to the east of Ts'ung-ling and whose fame had spread to the east when " Former Han times " had established relations with these countries. The legend of Mañjuśhrī is of particular interest to Nepal because we have concrete evidences of early inscriptions and sculpture to show the development of this interesting Mañjuśhrī-dharma.⁶⁹ A mural painting in Cave No. 220 of the Makao Grottoes of Tunhuang depicts the story of Vimalakīrti discussing the Mahāyāna gnosticism of Prajñāpāraitā with Mañjuśhrī Bodhisattva as related in the Vimalakīrti-nīrdeśa-sūtra. This is a proof of how this treatise became popular with gentry circles in China. It is interesting to note that Vimalakīrti belonged to Vaiśālī and according to S. Levi the famous Chinese Envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'e to the court of the Nepalese King Narendra Deva had measured the dimensions of the house where Vimalakīrti lived in the ancient city of Vaiśālī.⁷⁰ Then, too, there is a statue of Mañjuśhrī Bodhisattva riding on a Lion and with his Mukuṭa (Crown) bearing the image of Buddha Amitābha in the main shrine hall of the Shuhsiang monastery on Mount Wutai. As the monastery was built during the reign of Ming Dynasty (1368-1643 A.D.), this legend of Mañjuśhrī can only be taken as a link in the chain of Mahāyānic development during this period in China.

Impact of the Sāka Era in Central Asia :

We have seen how the Chinese people were getting in touch with the western world of the Yüe-chih in the last quarter of the first century B.C. At this period of transition the Chinese seem to be vaguely aware of the Nirvāṇa-Era in connection with the cult of Mañjuśhrī which appears to have penetrated to Central Asia and Tunhuang. Then, too, there are some concrete indications in the Chinese documents of the period to show that there was considerable mental and intellectual activity before and after the introduction of the Sāka Era which stimulated happy exchanges between the principles and practices of Yoga (self-discipline) and the exercises prescribed by the Taoist School. Lao-Tse was regarded as a revolutionary and an anarchist in China in the same proportions as the revolutionary Buddhas were hated by the Vedic Brāhmins. The psychological cult of

Plate No. XIII



Anāgata-Buddha (Buddha Messia of the future) taking vows before Indra and Brahmā fixed on the western cardinal compass corner of a brick stūpa surmounted by a stone-caitya representing Tushita-heaven. This unique stūpa is situated between the temple Kumbheśvara and Konti-vāhi in the city of Lalitpur. This rare Buddha Messia finds mention in the Chinese translation of P'u-yao-ching (Lalitavistara or the legends indited by Lalita wrongly rendered as the sport of the Buddha).

“ Yoga ” (self-discipline) provided a bridge of understanding between the Himālayan and Chinese revolutionary schools. We have already seen how the cult of Mañjuśrî infiltrated from Pāmīr, via the two branches of the intercontinental silk-road of Tunhuang, and from there through the corridor of Kansu to the plain of North-China as far as the old capitals of Ch’angan and Loyang.

According to a very old tradition, a Chinese Envoy to the court of Yüeh-chih in Central Asia was initiated into the mysteries of Buddhist sūtras by the Crown prince of a Kuṣhāṇa King. This Chinese Envoy was known by the name of Ching-lu. International scholars have written volumes on this *subject*.⁷¹ The chapter on geography of Han-shu mentions a number of foreigners, who bear names of their country of origin during “ Former Han ” period of Chinese history. Then, too, we find mention of Yüeh-chih and Kuchean (Kuṣhāṇa) immigrants. Most of the prominent Ācāryas (professors) like the Parthian An Shih-kao and Dharmaratna (Fa-hu or Dharmarakṣā) were born in Tunhuang. China has preserved the statues of Kāśyapa Mātang and Dharmarakṣā at the White Horse Monastery at Loyang, Honan Province; and Nepal has preserved the Stūpa of Chaṇḍakavartana with the basrelief of the “ Anāgata Buddha ” Messiah mentioned in Lalitavistāra.⁷² But the language used by all these foreign teachers was Prākṛt, which is another proof of the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The earliest Buddhist scripture commonly believed to be translated into the Chinese language by Chu Fa-lan (Dharmaratna or Dharmarakṣā) appears to be the “ Sūtra in Forty-two sections ” way back in 67 A.D. Eminent international scholars have worked hard to solve the mystery surrounding the origin of this treatise, but its quotation in Hsiang K’ai’s memorial of 166 A.D. proves that the work was translated between the second and the third century of the Śaka Era.

Judging from the large number of Kharoṣṭhî and the Chinese documents discovered by Sir A. Stein a Niyā, half-way between Khotan and the Lop-nor region, and the occurrence of such Koliyan and Sākiyan name as Budhamitra (Buddhamitra), Dhamñāpāla (Dharmapāla), Puṁñadeva (Pūṇadeva), Anandāsena (Ānandasena) together with Prākṛt idioms in the Kharoṣṭhî documents, the ancient language of Suvarṇabhūmî (Gold-country) was still the lingua franca in Central Asia. The numerous remains

of the stûpas show that Mahāyānic Buddhism filtered into China through these regions; and the Chinese people received the first knowledge of Buddhism through the medium of Prākṛt. The reported dream of the Chinese Emperor and the consequent translation of the "Sûtra in forty-two sections" from original Sanskritic texts appears to be apocryphal in view of the fact that this language was developed by the Kauśikans, and as already stated, it was carried by the Kauśikan Brāhmins to the Imperial Court of Kāniṣka from the Gangetic end of the arc. Neither do we have the original text of the "Sûtra of forty-two sections" to find out in what language and script it was written. Such translations as we have in Chinese, Korean etc. do not seem to agree, and the works have none of the characteristics of a "Sûtra." It seems on the other hand, to be concerned with the first steps of "Yoga" (self-discipline) and "Dhyāna" (concentration) which has much more to do with Śaivism and Mahāyāna Buddhism than with Hinayāna Buddhism. Among the scriptures attributed to the Han translators, the early Vinayas, such as we have discussed in connection with Aśoka, do not seem to be represented. However, the mention of Kāśyapa Mātanga so early is interesting for the simple reason that this particular name is associated with the Gold-race (e.g. Suvarṇagotra, Kaśyapa-gotra) people of the Himālayas who are concerned with the early Haimavata or Kāśyapiya school, which we have already discussed. We have also stated how Sākyamuni has admitted Buddha Kaśyapa as one of his predecessors; another Mahā-Kāśyapa played his part in the first council of Rājgṛha; in the Brāhmanic parlance Hiranya Kaśyapa is an atheistical demon-king of the Gold country (Suvarṇabhūmi); in China Buddha Kaśyapa is represented as the Buddha of the past, while the White Horse Monastery has preserved a statue of Kāśyapa Matang (*She-mo-t'eng*).⁷³

Judging from the occurrence of such basic terms as Sang-men or Shamen for Śramana (pilgrim) Pi-ch'iu for Bhikṣu (monk), Shami for Śramanera (novice), A-ch'ili for Ācārya (Professor) and Bodhisattva for both monk and lay devotees, we get the impression that the Buddhist teachers were barely making themselves understood to the Chinese people of Loyang and the commercial cities around it in the first century A.D. The translation of the Buddhist texts into Chinese does not appear to have begun in earnest till the arrival of the Parthian missionary, An Shih-kao at

Loyang in 148 A.D. Most unfortunately biographical information of the missionaries are lacking, though the legendary material during the Former-Han-period tend to accord with the religious development over the Himā-layas. The earliest extant Buddhist Bibliography namely Tsung-li chung-ching mulu (comprehensive catalogue of sūtras) indited by Tao-an in 374 A.D. begins with the translations ascribed to Lokakṣema and An Shih-kao. International scholars have taken Tao-an's works as authoritative specially when dealing with Han time *translations*.⁷⁴ The first book translated by Lokakṣema and his Chinese assistants appears to be " Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā " (अष्टासाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता) from a colophon dated November 24, 179 A.D. While the " Ugradattapariprcchā " after " Upāli pariprcchā " is attributed to An Shih-Kao. (I have found the word Kṣema both as first name and cognomen in Nepalese inscriptions and early literature). Both are Mahāyānic works based on Śaiva Tantras. According to the same author's catalogue these works are the exposition of the twelve inner and twelve outer NIDĀNAS (निदानः) entirely concerned with Yogic practices. It appears from the record that ten Ācāryas (Professors) worked hard from the middle of the second to the first decade of the third century A.D. to explain this exegetical scripture.

The basic works attributed to these masters are Mahānidānasūtra (Jen pen yu-sheng ching=महानिदान सूत्र), Ānāpānasamṛtisūtra (Ta an-pan shou-i-ching=आनापान स्मृति सूत्र), Skandha-dhātuvāyātanasūtra (Yin-ch'ih-ju ching=स्कन्धधातुव आयतन सूत्र) and Yogācārabhūmi (Tao-ti-ching=योगाचार भूमि) composed by Saṅgharakṣā. Judging from the nature of the Prākṛt texts translated, the two main themes of the works are :—

(i) Yoga (self-discipline) comprising such preparatory technique of counting the respirations leading to mental concentration (ānāpānasamṛti=आनापान स्मृति) and further to the system of mental concentration known as " Dhyāna " (ch'an) for the visualisation of internal and external images of various colours vis-a-vis the contemplation of our mortal coil as being composed of impure elements, perishable and full of sufferings;

(ii) short " Sūtras " devoted to the classification and the numerical categories such as the six Āyatana (आयतन), the five Skandha (स्कन्ध), the four ṛddhipada (ऋद्धि पद), the five Bala (बल), the four smṛtyupasthāna (स्मृत्युपस्थान) etc., which are the first steps to the psychological practices

on the intricate path of the "Jewel and the Lotus." Frankly, these practices, as already stated in our exposition of Kāla-cakra, have very much more in common with the Śaivite psychological practices of Yoga (self-discipline) than with the Hinayānic theory of abstinence and renunciation.

Unfortunately, some of the "Dhyāna" practices, notably the "Ānāpanasmṛti," outwardly resembled certain Taoist respiratory techniques and this must have largely contributed to the popularity of this aspect of the psychological cult of the Tantras. This accounts for the employment of a large number of Taoist expressions in rendering Tāntric terms into early Chinese translations. Even Dharmarakṣā's version of P'u-yao-ching (Lalitavistāra) seems to be lacking in the characterisation of the Anāgata-Buddha-Messiah of Chaṇḍakavartana found in the Sanskrit and the Tibetan texts of *Lalita-vistara*⁷⁵ due to proverbial Taoist adaptation. Thus while the rare Buddha Messiah of Chaṇḍakavartana in Nepal takes his Brāhmī-vow before Indra and Brahmā, the meditative aphorism (Dhyāna-sūtra) of Dharmarakṣā (Dharmaratna?) or Dharmatrāta adapts itself to the atheistical philosophy of Lao Tse. In either case we find the impact of the "Yogācāra doctrine" of the early Haimavata School with varying racial emphasis.

The Missionaries and traders in Loyang, Ch'angan and other cities of China appear to be formed of heterogeneous races namely Yüeh-chih, Kuṣhāṇa, Sogdian and Parthian working hand in hand with such Himālayan Masters as Śākya Dharmapāla (Tan-kuo=Dharmaphala?) and Mahābala (Chu Ta-li=Kṣatriya) from as far away as Kapilavastu in the Kingdom of Nepal. It is most interesting to note that Devapāla, Dharmapāla, Priyapāla etc. occur as the names of Śākya people in the early chronology and inscriptions of Nepal, and Nepal still preserves the statue of Mahābala, who seems to have written the earliest extant account of the life of their revered ancestor Śākyamuni in the Chinese language. The travels of these early Śākya and Suvarṇagotra people from the Gaṇḍakī Himālayas (Gold country) forms one of the most glorious chapters in the dissemination of the knowledge of the Haimavata school. From the humble beginning of Kāśyapa Mātanga's "Yogācāra doctrine," Dharmarakṣā (Dharmaratna) appears to have crowned his life-long efforts by translating Lalitavistāra and his pupil Lokakṣema had carried Mahāyāna Buddhism another step ahead by his partial translation of Aṣṭasāhasrikā notwithstanding the natio-

nal upsurge and the consequent opposition to Buddhism stimulated by Confucianism. Great Missionaries like Dharmapāla and Mahābala appear to have undertaken their arduous journeys from Kapilavastu across the Himālayas through Central Asia in this labour of love and faith on the trial of their Kolī-ancestors after the dispersion of the Śākyas from their homeland described in Chapter III. With the help of the Sogdian K'ang Menghsiang they appear to have brought out the Chung-pen-ch'i ching and Hsiuhsing pen-ch'i ching concerning the life of Śākyamuni who had given the Indo-Aryan name of Haimavata to the Himālayan mountains in lieu of the earlier Prākṛt name of "Anouta." The hydrography of the Himālayas appears to have been mapped out by the Śākyas, the Kolīs and the Gold-race people long before the travels of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to the home of the Buddhas which has drawn a great deal of attention from the Western scholars. But it would be impossible to understand the basic facts of history and geography until and unless we investigate the early traditions of the Himālayas which influenced China long before the travel of Kaśyapa Mātang and his successors. As we take up the survey of the Mahāyānic works of the Śākya Dharmapāla and Mahābala and their successors, it would be well to see what sort of popular Buddhism had influenced the Chinese people.

The account of Chai jung's monastery :

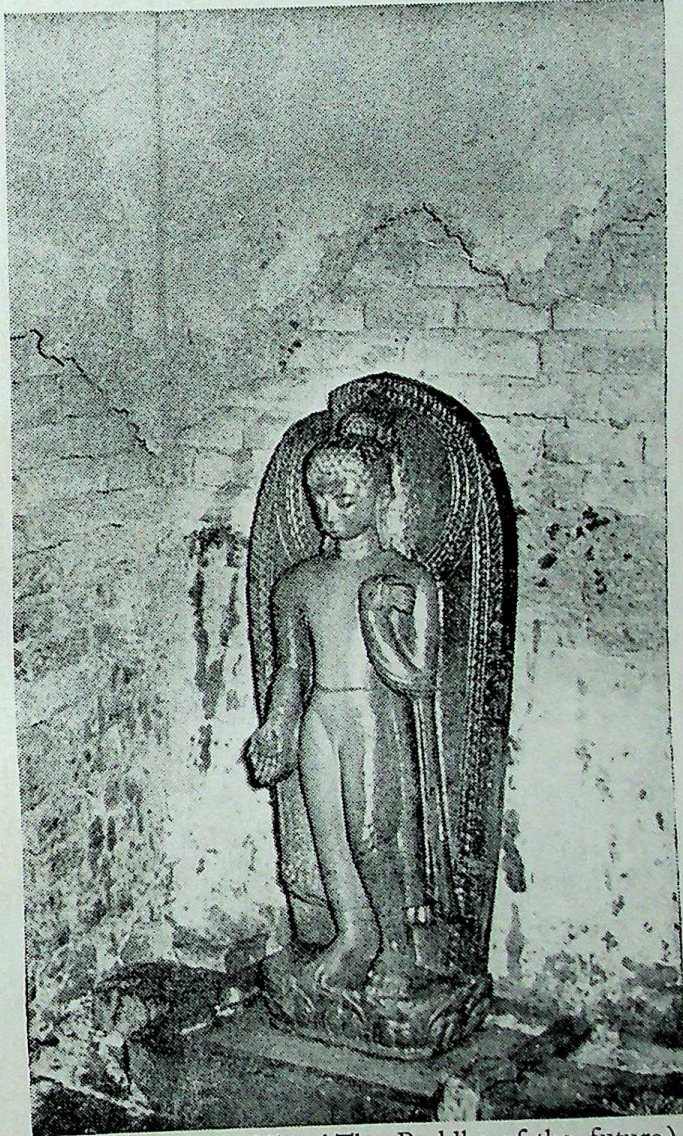
"Chai-jung erected a large Buddhist temple. From bronze he had a human effigy made, the body of which was gilded and dressed in silk and brocade. At the top of the building nine layers of bronze scales were suspended, and below there was a building of several storeys with covered ways, which could contain more than three thousand people, who all studied and read Buddhist scriptures. He ordered the Buddhist devotees from the region and the adjacent prefectures to listen and to accept the doctrine. These people he exempted from the other statute labour duties in order to attract them. Those who on account of this came from near and afar to the monastery numbered more than five thousand. Whenever there was the ceremony of bathing the Buddha, he had always great quantity of wine and food set out for distribution, and mats were spread along the roads over a distance of several tens of Li. On these occasions some ten thousand

came to enjoy the spectacle and the food. The expenses of such a ceremony amounted to many millions of cash."

According to the Chinese tradition Chai Jung was a notorious war-lord who entered the service of the Governor of Hsü-chou in 193 A.D. and waded his path through blood to power till he was defeated in 195 A.D. He is represented as an example of blind Buddhist devotion and moral depravity. But this text is extremely important as a historical report which gives us a glimpse of the anthropomorphic concept of the Walking Buddha (or in other words the Anāgatā Buddha in the attitude of describing the future with a step) in the day-to-day worship of popular Buddhism in North-western China at such an early date. We reproduce a basrelief depicting the nativity and the bathing of baby Gautama by two Nāgas of A-nouta squirting hot and cold water, while Māyādevî as the Yakṣî Bicchikā clings to the tree in her pang of delivery and the baby Buddha prepares for the first seven mystical steps. The earliest of such reliefs have been discovered in Lumbinî and it has been reproduced by Mr. Percival Landon and Professor G. Tucci.⁷⁶ The Nepalese festival of bathing Matsyendra on the eighth day of the fourth months of our calendar by inviting the Mother Goddess " Bicchikā " from the Himālayan mountain seems to be derived from the ancient concept to the effect that she was responsible for the rains and the fertility of the Earth. Subsequent to this the idea seems to have spread to Mathurā and Afghanistan against different cultural backgrounds under the Kushāṇa *Emperors*.⁷⁷

But this form of popular Buddhism was not well received by the upper classes of Southern China. Already in the second century the route followed by travellers from Ceylon, Southern India and the Roman Oreint went via Fu-nan (the region of the lower Mekong), Lin-i (Champa) and other sea routes. There were Chinese people who had iconoclastic inclinations. " When a Buddhist image was dug up in the park of the Imperial harem " says Zürcher, " Sun Hao had it removed to an urinal and personally performed what he called the ritual of washing the Buddha to the great hilarity of his *courtiers*.⁷⁸ " Between these two extremes of views the famous memorial of Hsiang K'ai dated 166 A.D., (which already referes to the Yogic practices contained in the famous Sûtra of 42 sections), also speaks about the joint sacrifice performed by the imperial order to Lao-tzu and the

Plate No. XIV



The Walking Buddha (The Buddha of the future)
who sweats.

Buddha. Hsiang K'ai belonged to Southern Shantung province of China and seems to be well acquainted with the astrological and cosmological speculations current in his time. As such he was a spokesman of the Confucian scholar-gentry class and opposed to the eunuchs and the "third force" on which the Han Emperors relied to counterbalance the Confucians. It would be interesting to quote the concluding part of Hsiang K'ai's memorial of 1400 words, in which he gave an extensive account of recent inauspicious portents by which Heaven showed its disapproval with the conditions prevailing at the Han court :

"Moreover, I have heard that in the palace sacrifices have been performed to Huang-lao and the Buddha. This doctrine teaches purity and emptyness; it venerates non-activity; it loves (keeping) alive and hates slaughter; it serves to diminish the desires and to expel intemperance. Now Your Majesty does not expel your desires; slaughter and the application of punishments exceed the proper limit. Since Your Majesty deviates from the doctrine, how could you expect to obtain the happiness resulting from its observance ? Some people say that Lao-tzu has gone into the region of the barbarians and there he has become the Buddha.

"The Buddha 'did not sleep three nights under the same mulberry tree,' for he did not want (by dwelling) a long time to give rise to feelings of affection : this is the perfection of spirituality. A heavenly spirit presented him with beautiful girls, but the Buddha said : 'These are no more than bags of skin filled with blood,' and he paid no attention to them any more. If one has reached this degree of Samādhi (mental concentration) then one is able to realise the Way (path). Now the lascivious girls and the seductive ladies of Your Majesty are the most beautiful of all the world, and the delicacy of your food and the sweet taste of your drink are unique in all the world. How would you then become equal to Huang-Lao ?"

The mention of a joint sacrifice to Huang-Lao and the Buddha shows that Taoism was tinged by the sacrifices associated with Śaivism and Vedic Brāhmanism. It has nothing to do with the revolutionary concepts of Buddhism. The theory that Buddha was an incarnation of Lao-tzu seems to be more on the line of the Brāhmanic incarnations of Viṣṇu than the Buddhistic concept of the Bodhisattvas. Professor E. Zürcher is of the

opinion that the two quotations obtaining in this memorial from the "Sûtra in Forty sections" demonstrate the considerable difference between the original text and even the most archaic extant version." Evidently, the quotation from the original "Sûtra" had much more to do with the Śaivite "Yoga" (self-discipline) and "Yajña" (sacrifices), and the Vedic Yāga practices than with the Hinayānist theory of renunciation. The learned author continues "At the beginning of his memorial Hsiang K'ai also mentions the 'divine books of Yüeh chi' i. e. the original T'ai-p'ing ching in 170 Chüan, transmitted by the Taoist magician Yü Chi to his disciple Kung Ch'ung at Lang-yeh in Southern Shantung; under Emperor Shun (126-144 A.D.) Kung Ch'ung had brought the work to the capital and had presented it to the throne."

According to Professor E. Zürcher the T'ai-p'ing Ching became the fundamental scripture of the ideology of the Taoist movement of the Yellow Turbans in Southern Shantung region, and "this again testifies of the close connection between Taoism and Buddhism in later Han times."⁷⁹

But Tantrayāna or Mahāyānic Buddhism has nothing to do with magic; the Yogic practices and sacrifices are calculated to advance mental discipline. I was extremely intrigued by the Buddhist legend of Saddharma puṇḍarīka Sûtra (सद्धर्म पुण्डरीक सूत्र) or the scripture of the White Lotus of the true doctrine carved on a small niche of the south wall of what was described in a small Chinese booklet as the "Water-lily cave" on my visit to Loyang on October 8, 1961. Two figures were skilfully carved in relief and the booklet explained them as (1) The Buddha pondering under the (Bodhi) tree; and (2) the Buddha teaching the black magic arts under the (Bodhi) tree, which were illustrated and explained as such in Plates 23 and 24 of the same. The water-lily was the Chinese version of the White Lotus and the legend depicted was clearly the conversion of the Buddha to the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra. The Śiva-liṅga (phallus) displayed before the "pondering Buddha" and the "Kalasa" (bottle to contain the five ambrosial libation in lieu of Pañca-śīla) at his back clearly depicted the synthesis of Śaivism and Buddhism in our scheme of the astropsychic theory of Death. The raging halo of flame and the flying angels were suggestive of the emerging vision of the Third Eye of Inner Illumination. It did not occur to me till then that this sublime syn-

thesizing concepts of Dharma-cakra and Kāla-cakra were interpreted by the Chinese artists to their Court Taoism under the impact of Hua hu theory⁸⁰. Finally, I have explained several other discrepancies in Chinese interpretation of our spiritual culture in my “Universal value of Nepalese *Aesthetics*.”⁸¹ When religious matters get out of hand, the right thing to do is to find underlying, synthesizing and unifying ideas by a comparative study of all the ramifications against the background of the source materials. Śākyamuni had met Virūpakkha and all the other guardians from the four cardinal compass corners of the Earth in the forests of Kapilavasthu more than twentyfive hundred years ago. Observing the diversity of the nature and the mind of men, the Pāśupat Yogins, after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph, had insisted upon the essential symmetry of universal values behind the appearances of men and the facades of Nature. Every sentient being in his fleeting life time, whether he be the creator or the created, is an expression of the laws and the forces that govern this universe. How could men of different races be made to understand the unity of Nirvāna in the developing religious scheme of Dharmacakra and Kāla-cakra against diverse political, social and cultural situations ?

We have salvaged a few dedicated names of “invisible persons” of Kapilavastu from the limbo of history. Then, too, we have encountered a score of unidentifiable religious leaders, who seemed to have a discipline far more demanding than loyalty to their racial and national group. Evidently, they had transformed their personalities to the same level as the tribes they came into contact, so that they lost their own identity for the sake of the all transforming idea of the Suvarṇagotras (Gold-race). There were other difficulties beyond the pale of Prākritic and Sanskrit language and culture “From the earliest times” says Professor E. Zürcher “the translators of Buddhist texts had to face the problem of phonetic transcription of Indian proper names and Buddhist technical expressions by means of Chinese characters—a script which by its ideographic nature was (and is) much less suited to this purpose than any alphabetical writing system would have been.”⁸² They had to evolve new idioms in order to be in tune with the Taoist and Confucian Shibboleths after the gradual disintegration of the Han Empire and with the period of the Three Kingdoms (220-280 A.D.). It would take us too far afield if we write at length the great social

and political changes that took place at this period. This may be said in passing that, in contrast with the continental state of Wei, which was still connected with Central-Asia, Wu was naturally directed towards the south and the sea-coast.

Buddhism in South China :

According to E. Zürcher " Chienyeh became the seat of the State of Wu, (220-284). This court received products and used labourers from the regions beyond the mountains (Kuantung, Kuangsi and Indo-China); it was regularly visited by merchants and emissaries from the Southern kingdoms of Fu-nan and Lin-i, and sent its own envoys as far as Southern Cambodia." The two most important Professors of Buddhism in the Southern capital were still the Indo-scythian Chih Ch'ien and Sogdian K'ang Seng-hui, both of whom were born in China and brought up under the Chinese classical traditions. They were joined by a Brāhmin known by the name of Vighna; and after the latter's conversion and ordination he became a specialist in the esoteric worship of Āgamas. Together they appear to have translated the Pāli Dhammapada (*ṭṭhakathā*) which has remained as one of the most popular books in *China*.⁸³

Judging from his translation of Dhammapada and his specialisation of Āgama, Ācārya (Professor) Vighna seems to be a product of the Haimavata School of Buddhism. Dhammapada is a Hinayāna work very much in vogue in Ceylon. If we scan the pages of the Dhammapada, the Prātimokṣa and the Karmavācanā, we cannot but be impressed by the many legends of the Suvarṇabhūmi (Gold country) obtaining in them. Judging again from the traditional records and the ancient relics of Kapilavastu and the Pāli translations of such early works as the Milindapañha and Niddesa, the connection of Ceylon with the Himālayan countries in and through the ports of Bharukaccha and Śurpāraka appears to have remained very active. As testified by Professor S. Levi and confirmed by Professor E. Zürcher, the legends of Dhammapada (*aṭṭhakathā*), bearing as it did the stamp of the Northern School of Buddhism, were further changed to bring them up to the taste of the still small Buddhist communities in South *China*.⁸⁴ This accounts for the difference between local literature and the literature of the parent country of origin.

We quote from E. Zürcher the following dialogue between Vighna and his Chinese collaborators to show Vighna's personal attitude towards his own scripture and the Chinese reactions to the same :

“ At first I objected against the wording (of this translation) as being unrefined. (To this), Vighna replied : “ As to the words of the Buddha, we are concerned with their meaning, and do not need to adorn them; the grasping of the doctrine they (contain) is not effected by adding embellishment. Those who transmit the scriptures (in another language) must make them easy to understand, and the meaning must not be lost—(only) then the work is well done. ”

“ All those present said : “ Lao-tzu has said : “ Beautiful words are not reliable, reliable words are not beautiful. ” Likewise, Confucius has said : “ Writing does not completely express speech, nor does speech completely express the ideas. ” This (correspondence) clearly shows the unfathomable depth of the Saint's thoughts. ”⁸⁵

This event appears to have occurred in 224 A.D. Side by side with Ācārya Vighna and his unidentifiable companion, their Chinese collaborators, namely Chih-Ch'ien was a Yü-chih and K'ang Sen Hui was Sogdian; both the latter were born in China and brought up in Chinese tradition. All of them seem to have belonged to the school of Lokakṣema. Among the other monumental works to the credit of these translators were the Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra and the Sukhāvativyūha concerned with the cult of Amitābha, both of which played important role in far Eastern Buddhism. They are said to have brought out a more elegant version of the famous “Sūtra in forty-two sections,” a new translation of Astasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā and a short version of Lokakṣema's Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra. Southern China had now contacts with the Ceylonese and South Indian monks through the route of what is Hanoi in North Vietnam today; and some of the Vinaya texts were gradually being introduced specially with strong northern influences. Judging from the quotations contained in Yin-ch'ih-ju-ching (Taisho issaikyo 1694) and Ta ming-tu ching (T 225) by the Sogdian K'ang sen hui, the most popular books seem to be Yogācāra-bhūmi, Ugradattaparipṛcchā, Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchā, Ajātsatrusūtra, Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra, Aṣṭāsāharikā-prajñāpāramitā, Mahallikāparipṛcchā, Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhi and Dharmapada.

Except for Dharmapada, all the above works seem to be concerned with the Pāsūpat cult of Yoga (self-discipline) and Dhyāna (meditative practices) consequent upon the revolt of Upāli with his questionnaire known as Upālipariṣcchā and his doctrine of Yoga after the Great Passing and the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. It is impossible to agree with western scholars that the Dhyāna School founded by the Yue-ch'ih An Shih-kao is Hinayānistic. The changing confessio fidei obtaining in our early inscriptions and the final state of "Anādinidhana" (permanent state of timelessness) in which we have it to our own day,—bears eloquent testimony to the spiritual development with Yogic practices after the impact of the cult of Virūpakka and *Hū-saṣ*.⁸⁶ We have briefly referred to the sudden appearance of such Vinaya works namely, Dharmapada, Prātimokṣa of the Mahāsāṃghika School and Karmavācanā of the Dharmaguptaka School. We have already said that Dharmapada was introduced by Ācārya Vighna, whereas the latter two works have been attributed to the Śākya teacher Dharmakāla, the Sogdian teacher Saṅghavarmma and the Parthian teachers Dharmmasatya and Dharmabhadra. All of them appear to have arrived at Loyang after 250 A.D. With them evidently some form of ordination of the monks and monastic discipline were being introduced. Then, too, the Chinese scholars seem to be getting inquisitive about the categorisation of such order as Śhrāvaka, Prātyekabuddha, Bodhisattva, Mahāśhramaṇa etc over and above what they already knew about the Śhramaṇa and the Buddha. Kao-seng shuan gives us a glimpse of the disorderly state of affairs as follows :

"There were monks who had never been ordained and who only by their tonsure distinguished themselves from the profane; when performing the ceremonies of fasting and confession of sins they imitated the non-Buddhist sacrificial rites."

We now clearly get the impact of the Mahāsāṃghika and the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya schools on the earlier Yogācāra doctrines represented by the many "Pariṣcchās" (questionnaires) and the "Ajātaśatrusūtra" on the lines of the Upālipariṣcchā which was associated with the Haimavata school with the very first Buddhist council of Rājagṛha. Strangely Mahāyāna and Hinayāna, coming as they did from different routes and sources seem to have confronted each other in China. This was a period when the Imperial

Court of Loyang seems to be having contacts with Shān-shan (Lop nor), Khotan, Kuchā, Quaraśāhar, Kashgar and Ferghana in Central Asia, and Lin-i (Champa) and Fu-nan (the region of the lower Mekong river) in South-East Asia. The relative prosperity and political stability of China favoured the development of international trade and traffic. The documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin in the region of Niya and Lou-lan in Central Asia bear testimony to this healthy *exchange*.⁸⁷ The region of Tunhuang in western Kansu was the main gateway to China and a commercial centre with a mixed Chinese—"Barbarian" population. It was there that the Buddhist travellers from China went to find the scripture for the second time consequent upon the Hinayāna-Mahāyāna confrontation.

The visit of the first Chinese monk Chu Shih-hsing to Khotan

The journey of the Chinese monk Chu Shih-hsing to Khotan about 250-260 A.D. in quest of Buddhist scriptures from Loyang forms one of the most interesting events in the history of Buddhism. So far he seems to have read only Lokakṣema's crude translations of the Perfection of wisdom in Eight thousand lines ("Aṣṭāsāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā"). The works of the Buddhist Masters of Law namely, Vighna and Dharmakāla had stimulated Chinese interests in the rules and discipline of the various Buddhist Schools that had sprung up. Thus when Chu Shih-hsing undertook his difficult journey to India, he did so with the object of securing certain canonical texts needed for the better understanding and practice of the Buddhist Church in Loyang. But he did not have to go as far as India. He found the "Perfection of Wisdom" (Prajñāpāramitā) in 25,000 lines in Khotan which, then, was the largest kingdom of the famous silk route of Central Asia.

But more interesting than the discovery of the said Perfection of wisdom was the history of the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism to Khotan by a monk known by the name of Vairocana under the reign of King Vijaya-saṃbhava way back in the first century B.C. Ravi-locana and Vairocana occur as the names of our Shepherd God Śiva in very early religious scriptures; and Vijayasambhava is the name of the person who spread the knowledge of the Great Mother Goddess as Idā and Pingalā of the

Kaula (Koli) and Śākta schools during the symbiosis of the Śaiva and Buddhist t̃āntricism. We are publishing the relative sculpture from Nepal to show how the synthesis between Śaivism and Buddhism took place from Ravi-locana to *Vairocana*.⁸⁸ Subsequent to this symbiosis Vairocana, Jaya, Vijaya, Jayasundarī, Vijayabātī, Jayasambhava, Vijayasambhava, Padmasambhava etc. appear as names of prominent men and women in the scriptures and inscriptions of Nepal. The cognomen Sambhava associated with the name Vijaya may here mean the victory of the person who introduced the Puṇḍarika-sūtra (the Lotus sūtra) as the true doctrine to Khotan which finally infiltrated into China.

Traces of Hinayāna Buddhism in Khotan :

Professor S. Levi has discussed the famous Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of a Prākṛit version of Dharmapada (Journal Asiatique 1912 pp 213-215) discovered in Khotan. The importance of Khotan as a military power as well as a centre of trade and commerce has been attested to by the documents available in China of the first century A.D. This must have formed the basis of Vighna's translation of Dharmapada into Chinese language. Kuchā to the north of Khotan appears to have entertained Hinayānist texts. The first Kuchean and Sogdian missionaries of Hinayāna Buddhism together with Ācārya Dharmakāla appear to have translated only what represented the barest necessary of Prātimokṣa and Karmavācanā of the Mahā-sāmaghika and Dharmaguptaka schools of Vinaya respectively from the Prākṛit sources of Central Asia. The same may be true of Sūtra-piṭaka as well. The vast collections of canonical literature from the Pāli sources of Ceylon must have followed gradually very much later.

On the other hand, the first accounts of the Chinese traveller Chu Shih-hsing's journey to Khotan mention the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Khotan about 250-260 A.D. Mokṣala—the author of the 25,000 lines of the Perfection of Wisdom in 291 A.D., and Gīta-mitra, who arrived at Ch'angan with another copy of the same Prajñāpāramitā in 296 A.D., were both Khotanese people. Chih Fa-ling towards the beginning of the fifth century A.D. found in Khotan a copy of the Mahāyānic text of Avatamsaka; and the famous Chinese traveller Fa-hsien in his stay of three months in Khotan in 401 A.D. has spoken about the large comm-

unity of tens of thousands of Mahāyāna Buddhists who had the backing of the rulers together with some sprinklings of Hīnayānists from the northern centre of Kuchā.

The scripture of the emission of the rays by the Buddha :

The scripture of the emission of the rays by the Buddha as a prelude to his preaching of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtras (the white Lotus sūtra of the true doctrine) and of the Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of wisdom) seems to be the Khotanese version of the Śaivite legend of the incineration of Virūpākṣa by the fire which belched from the Third Eye of Śiva current in the Himālayan countries after the acceptance of the Shepherd-God Paśupati in the Vedic pantheon as the Storm-God Rudra by the Kauśikan Brāhmins. According to Chu Shih-hsing's biography, the Khotanese adherents of Hīnayāna Buddhism went even so far as to oppose the Chinese monk from sending this pernicious "Brāhmanic book" to China, whereupon the Bhūrjapattra (birch bark leaf) Manuscript of the "Perfection of wisdom" was subjected to and survived the fire-ordeal and was, therefore, taken to China on its own merit. Though apocryphal, this legend is very characteristic of the fire-ordeal of the Śakas, which was having its effect on the Chinese people. Professor E. Zürcher has given us a considerable amount of accurate information concerning the vicissitudes of "The scripture of the emission of rays" when the Khotanese monk Puṇyadhana took it to China in 282 A.D. We have already quoted the ancient Buddhist texts of Atanatiya and Mahāsamaya-sūttanta to show how Śākyamuni had personally met Virūpakkha in the forests of Kapilavatthu. These are very early sources which show the impact of the astropsychic theory of Kālacakra upon Dharma-cakra (the Eight spoked Wheel of Law) preached by Śākyamuni.

Evidently the early symbols of Phallus and ring-stones associated with the Cult of Śiva and the Great Mother Goddess, and even the Yogācāra doctrine of Upāli after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph were, perhaps, too crude for export and for international consumption. We have also referred to the superscriptions of the images of Oesho (Śiva) and his symbols on the Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa coins. International scholars have commented widely on the flames issuing from the shoulders of some Kuṣhāṇa kings,

which may be connected with the fiery emanations of the Iranian kings. We have already seen with reference to the Akhaemenian inscriptions how the Iranian Aryans were the first to encounter the Śakas and learn about their cult of the Yakṣas (Yakkhas). In its country of origin Virûpākṣa tended to become the personification of Madana of Kāma-deva (god of love) and was finally absorbed in the psychological cult of Paśupati. Then, too, the early Śaiva Yogins appear to have invented many symbols of the sun and the moon to express the Time-nature of this favourite Shepherd God in their scheme of the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra.

We have seen how the Taoist practitioners had used the optical illusions of the first steps of Yogic exercises to startle and amuse the Chinese people. On the other hand, the Śaivite Yogis had realised very early that our sensory organs were the only channels through which we could probe the mystery of the human mind and gain an access to the world of visions and reality beyond the bounds of the physical world. This spiritual factor pertaining to the transition to the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra from the Eight-spoked-wheel of Dharma-cakra had to be assimilated into Buddhism, which by now had developed into a greater religious and cultural force than the purely psychological practices of Śaivite Tantras all by themselves. In his "Preliminary Reports and Studies on the Italian excavations in Swat" (Western Pakistan), Professor G. Tucci had decisively demonstrated how "Buddhism became in a certain sense westernised and was translated into terms artistical as well as dogmatical more universally acceptable" than either Śaivism or Hīnayāna Buddhism as they came into contact with major cultural forces in this crossroad of Asia.

If we were to follow the "Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra," these fiery emanations were associated with the historical Buddhas when they revealed themselves to their Bodhisattvas. Then, too, there was competition among the various schools of Buddhism to metamorphose the great teacher of scientific and human laws into a God of Eternal reality so that they may reveal the profound truth that "seeing is deceiving" and that the real world could be perceived through the five human sensory apparatuses. The pattern of the legend of the Buddha preaching "Saddharmapūṇḍarīka-sūtra" (the white Lotus aphorism of the true doctrine) to a chosen audience of

the Bodhisattvas flown to him from the four cardinal compass corners seems to be similar to the infinitely earlier legend of Śākyamuni meeting Virûpakkha and the other kings from the four corners of the world in the forests of Kapilavastu. Here the Śrāvakas (the ordinary disciples) are excluded from seeing the Buddha when a big light of Brahmavihāra emanates from his Urṇa (circular bump of hair over Buddha's forehead) on the eve of his announcement of the miracle of the Revelation of the white Lotus aphorism, which, on the last analysis, is only an exposition of the astro-psychic theory of Death known as Kāla-cakra and the Third Eye of Śiva. Professors G. Tucci and Mario Bussagli have commented in their own way on the image of such a "Haloed Buddha of Gandhāra with flames rising from his *shoulders*."⁸⁹

It is against such a background of spiritual furore of Central-Asia, that we have to consider the Chinese translation of Fang Kuang Ching (the scripture of the emission of rays), which was given this significant title in accordance with the contents of the first "Parivarta" (chapter) by the Khotanese monk Mokṣala in 291 A. D. It was the Indo-Scythian monk Dharmarakṣā (Fa hu 266-308 A. D.) who appears to have made a complete translation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra (Scripture of the white Lotus aphorism of the true doctrine), Prajñāpāramitā (The perfection of Wisdom), Surāṅgama-samādhi sūtra (the scripture of mental concentration), Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (the scripture spoken by Vimalakīrti), Sukhāvativyūha (the caitya of pure and happy land) and Lalita-vistāra (the legend of Lalita describing Buddha Messiah of hope) in response to the demands of the Chinese Buddhists. The most important among the host of scriptures translated by Dharmarakṣā was the Lotus sūtra with its doctrine of one Buddha vehicle and with its emphasis upon the eternity and omniscience of the Buddha, which to all the believers opened the way to Buddhahood. As an esoteric Revelation interpreted with extraordinary wealth of images and parables, Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra came to be regarded as the most venerated and fundamental scripture in Chinese Buddhism.

For more than a century, the translations of Dharmarakṣā remained the most clear and comprehensive exposition of the doctrine of the perfection of Wisdom, so much so that Tao-an in about 376 A.D.

made a comparative study of the different texts, particularly of Fang-kuang ching (the scripture of the emission of rays) and made synoptic edition which widely circulated in the Chinese capital of Loyang. When the celebrated Buddhist missionary Kumārajīva appeared on the scene, he put up the theory that the Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra differed from the rest of the Mahāyāna sūtras and pointed out the conflict. No doubt, Kumārajīva was aware of the special character of this Lotus-sūtra as a secret doctrine concerned with the esoteric Śaivite worship known as Āgama. For a considerable period the earlier works appear to have fallen into disuse in the first decade of the fifth century when Kumarajīva's versions of the Perfections of Wisdom in 8000 lines and 25,000 lines (namely Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā, Pañcaviṃsatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā) respectively together with the enormous mass of Mādhyamika commentaries appeared on the Chinese scene. It is most interesting to note that after a ding-dong struggle, the Scripture of the white Lotus-sūtra came to be regarded as the highest fulfilment of the Buddha's teaching by the T'ien-t'ai school of the second half of the sixth century A.D., which appears to have found concrete artistic expression in the Waterlily-cave of Loyang already mentioned above. But before we resume our discussions of the life and the works of Kumarajīva, it would be well for us to look back to the Imperial court of the Kushāna Emperors and to the Fourth Buddhist Council of Jālandhara (Jullunder in West Pakistan) for the further development of the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika philosophies.

The religious and cultural influences in the Imperial court of the Kushānas in Kabul :

One of these Śaka (Yüe-chih of the annals of China) tribes went on gathering strength and power till Kaṇiṣhka I became the Emperor of Kabul, Kashmir and the north-western India. We have already noted how the Śaka tribes had controlled all the trade routes of Central Asia, and from this position of strength, they extended their dominions as far as Mathurā on the banks of river Jamunā. From very early times the city of Mathurā situated on the cross-roads of Central Asia via Takṣhaṣilā (Taxila), of the Indus valley through Minnagar and of the gulf of Gurjāra country (Gujarat) through the cities of Ujjayinī and Mādhyamikā near Chitoragarh,

had flourished as a rich mercantile centre on the flat North Indian plain. For fairly long periods Mathurā had been ruled by the Saurasenā, the Nāga, the Mauryas and the Suñgas. With successive rise of the Śakas, the Indo-Greeks and the Śaka-pahlavas, Mathurā had also remained the winter capital of the north-western rulers.

Private inscriptions found in the Punjab and the Sind provinces of India are dated from five to twenty eight years of an unknown Era. The latest discoveries of the punch-marked coins, and the Yakha (Yakṣa) and the Śaka tradition and sculpture in the Gaṇḍakī region and the Varmma-chronicles of the Lunar dynasty of Nimiṣa in Nepal, make their migration to the Himālayan Suvarṇabhūmi (Gold country) absolutely certain. Evidently, the Kuṣhāṇas were operating from the northern and the southern pincers in their invasion of Pāṭaliputra and Sāketa (Ayodhyā), which had remained the capitals of the Mauryan and the Suñga Kings respectively. Shortly after his accession to power, King Kaṇiṣka adopted Mahāyānic Buddhism and spent vast sums of money for the construction of Buddhist monasteries and monuments all over his vast empire. It was under his patronage that the Fourth Buddhist Council was held in the city of Jalandhara (Jullunder) under the Chairmanship of the Buddhist Savant Vasu-mitra.

As a great patron of the Mahāyānic religion and culture, Kaṇiṣka patronised the eminent Buddhist writer Aśvaghoṣa who had salvaged the Yogācāra doctrine of Upāli from oblivion. This monk scholar had studied for ten years in one of the monasteries known as Aśokārāma in the Mauryan capital of Pāṭaliputra (Patna) after his initiation into the Vinaya School of *Sarvāstivāda*.⁹⁰ During his student days, the epic of Rāmāyaṇa indited by the Kauśikan poet Vālmiki had become very much more popular than the treatises of the Vinaya works in Pāli. Deeply influenced by the Sanskrit works of his Kauśikan ancestors, Aśvaghoṣa chose Sanskrit as the medium of his expression to the rejection of the Magadhan court language of Pāli, into which almost all the Tripitakas were committed to writing by the Missionary schools of Hīnayāna. At the hands of Aśvaghoṣa and his disciples, the Prākṛit language, in which the ancient Himālayan teachers including Śākyamuni delivered their sermons, was developed on the lines of Vedic Sanskrit to serve as a bridge of understanding between the Central Asiatic and the Indian peoples.

Thus we see that, if Pāli Tripiṭakas made Śākyamuni and dynasty of King Suddhodhana the pivot on which to base the Hīnayānist writings, the Mahāyānists depended upon the Sanskrit language to express and explain the Kāla-cakra traditions and the consequent Yogācāra doctrines of the Haimavata School. Though both began from the same source, yet the Vedic Sanskrit, as it developed among the Kauśīkans, appear to have directly succeeded to the Prākṛit languages of the Gaṇḍakī river valleys and carried the tradition to central Asia, while Pāli became the vehicle of expression to the south. This explains the mystery behind the earliest occurrence of the Pāśupat Yogas in Prākṛit as “Saddharmapūṇḍarikasūtra” and its translation as the Lotus aphorism of the true doctrine into Chinese so early. Even the Hīnayānist texts of Dharmapada seems to be translated into Chinese from the Prākṛit and the Sanskritic sources. If, therefore, Ceylonese Tripiṭakas and the treatises of some of the Vinaya schools were recorded in Pāli, all the Śaivo-Buddhistic literature concerned with Mahāyāna were recorded in Prākṛit in all the countries of Central Asia from their Himālayan bases. It is remarkable that the “Paripṛcchā” literature that appears in Chinese translation so early does not form part of the Pāli-Vinayas. Against such a background of heaving Asia, the early tradition, relics, manuscripts, inscriptions, sculpture and architecture obtaining in Nepal even to this day assume tremendous significance.

The Imperial region of the Kushāṇa Kings was the turning point in the mode of literary expression through the medium of Vedic Sanskrit to the rejection of the Magadhan court language of Pāli. This change in the style of literary intercourse registered the triumph of the Haimavata School, which ousted the Babel of dialects in favour of the Indo-Aryan Sanskrit language, which became the lingua-franca in the vast empire of the Kushāṇas. With the rise of the political power of the Śakas, we notice the steady process of the Sanskritisation of the unsanskritic Royal genealogies, names, cognomen, place-names and customs in the chronicles and inscriptions of Nepal till it becomes the most perfect vehicle of expression with the Licchavi Kings who assume power about 350 A.D.

It was in the Fourth-Buddhist-Council of Jalandhara (Jullunder) in West Pakistan today) that the Three Commentaries on the Khandhaka (Skandhaka) canons of the earliest schools of Vinaya seem to be indited

by the organisers under the title of "THREE TREATISES." These Three Treatises seem to be translated and variously interpreted in China fairly early till it formed the most profound subject of philosophical discussions with Chin Tun's teachings in 350 A.D.⁹¹

In view of the importance of the "Three Treatises" Emperor Kaniška had them thoroughly revised by the Kauśikan Master Aśvaghoṣa, got them inscribed on copperplate inscriptions and had them enclosed in memorial mounds for their preservation. Although a student of the Vinaya-School-of-Sarvāstivāda in Sāvatti, yet Aśvaghoṣa seems to have preserved the Yogācāra doctrine of the venerable Upāli and the other literature of "Pariprcchās" (questionnaires), which led to the religious schism and to the isolation of the Haimavata-Kāśyapīya-School in the very First-Buddhist-Council of Rājagṛha. Under the impact of the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra, the basic question of the Upāli-pariprcchā was that the Aryan-Eight-Fold-Path to Nibbānapada was a Nihilo and out of date, and that Upāli and his adherents called for a fresh start towards the Yogācāra doctrine in consideration of basic human requirements of sex to the total rejection of the tyranny of abstract ideas in the concept of human emancipation. This view is fundamental for a proper understanding of one of the most important periods of Himālayan religious philosophy as to the transition from the Nirvāṇa-Era represented by the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph to the Kāla-cakra Era represented by the Yakṣa legend of Virūpakṣa. We have adequately discussed this basic question with reference to Aśoka and Nepalese inscriptions respectively in Chapter V.

From the evidences of Chinese documents we know that the Buddhist missionary Kumārajīva had written the biographies of the celebrated Yogācāra Masters namely, Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārgjuna, Āryadeva and Vasubandhu the elder. Professor E. Frauwallner "On the date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu" has referred to an important statement of Kumārajīva in connection with the White Lotus Sūtra as follows: "When I formerly dwelt in India, I travelled to the five parts of India studying the Mahāyāna. As a pupil of the great teacher Sūryasoma, I confessed that formerly, when I studied the Hināyāna texts, I was like one who did not recognise gold and considered stone to be a wonderful object. At this he gave me the scripture of the Saddharmapūṇḍarikopadeśa with great affec-

tion and said : “ The sun of the Buddha has set in the west. The remaining light will reach the north-east. Do diffuse it with all care. Once upon a time the great teacher Vasubandhu (the elder) had composed this “ Upadeśa ” (instruction). This represents the true Dharma (Law or doctrine). Thou shalt not accept nor reject its stanzas; and thou shalt not accept nor reject its texts.’ I accepted it with great reverence and carried it in my book-basket when I came here ” (*China*).⁹²

Frauwallner puts this term of Kumārajīva’s pupilship under Sūryasoma in one of the five parts of India about 360 A.D., while K.Ch’en makes Sūryasoma a royal prince from Yarkand who meets and converts Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.) in Kashgar. Following Chinese sources K.Ch’en says that “ Kumārajīva was born in Kuchā of a Brāhmin father and a Kuchean princess and followed his mother into a Buddhist order, and together the two travelled to Kashmir where he studied the sacred texts under Bandhudatta for three years and went to live in Kashgar for one year, where the conversion appears to have taken place at about the age of 11. According to Zürcher Kumārajīva’s greatest contributions to Chinese Buddhism was the introduction of Mahāyānic scholastic literature, notably that of Mādhyamika (Śūnyavāda) which is said to go back to the semilegendary teacher Nāgārjuna. But both the learned authors seem to overlook the fact that it was Kumārajīva who had written the biographies of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Vasubandhu who were all Kauśikan emigrants to Puruṣapapura (Peshawar in Western Pakistan) at different periods of history. The development of the philosophical-dogmatic school of Sarvāstivāda in Śravastī was greatly influenced by the Haimavata-Kāśyapiya school of Suvarṇabhūmi (Gaṇḍakī) under the influence of the dissident Upālī who appears to have written the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. According to Hsüan-tsang, the decisive step in the fourth Buddhist Council was taken by Kātyāyaniputra (Kātyāyana) with the composition of Jñānaprasthāna, which was translated by the Kaśmirian teacher Saṅghadeva as Fa-chin-lun (on the source of knowledge) in Ch’angan already in the last quarter of the 4th century. This person was the President of the Council while Aśvaghoṣa, as the Vice-president, wrote the Three Treatises as its commentaries, which culminated in the Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra in the same council under Kaṇiṣka. What is of the greatest significance is the fact that these Kauśiks

namely Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Vasuvandhu and Sūryasoma had become converts to the Yogācāra doctrine of Upāli; and with one voice they acclaimed the victory of the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra Millennia introduced by the Śakas in 78 A.D. Against the background of such a religious transition, the life and work of Kumārajīva and Śākya Buddhahadra of Kapilavastu assume tremendous significance.

The life and works of Puṇḍit Kumārajīva (344-409 or 414 A.D.) :

Kumārajīva was born in Kuchā situated in Western Turkistan. In the company of his pious mother he appears to have visited the cities of Avāntipūra, Parihāsapūra and Mārtand and studied in the Sarvāstivāda vinaya schools of Kashmir under such illustrious teachers as Bandhudatta and Buddhayaśas who later joined him at Ch'angan in Sian. We have seen how the Chinese documents bypass his visits to India. Before he had reached his middle age his fame, as the master of the psychological Tantras, astronomy, mathematics, Prajñā literature and Mādhyamika commentaries had travelled far into China. At this time there were wars between the Chinese and the Central Asiatic rulers, so that "When in 384 A.D. Fu-Chien's general Lü Kuang conquered Kuchā, he took the unfortunate Ācārya with him as a valuable piece of booty, using his services during his further campaigns and making him at the same time the object of his very delicate jokes." Nothing is known about the 17 years of Kumārajīva's life at Liang-chou (Kansu) where Lü Kuang had founded an independent state. In 401 the Tibetan ruler Yao Hsing defeated Lü and brought Kumārajīva to Ch'angan, where he was made the "Purohita" (preceptor) of the ruling house and venerated by the religious leaders of several thousands of Buddhist disciples from all parts of the Celestial Empire. It was by an accident of history that Fa-hsien had left China for India in 399 about two years before the arrival of Kumārajīva in Ch'angan. Whoever has read the works of Fa-hsien and Kumārajīva know that these two masters, in utter contrast with Hsüan-tsang, did not seem to have any particular religious bias or philosophical prejudices. We can very well imagine the plight of Kumārajīva in an age, when the works of Mokṣala, Saṅghadeva and Lokakṣema as well as those of the Chinese professors, reflected only that particular branch of learning in which they were skilled namely, Prajñāpāra-

mitā (mystical philosophy of the perfection of wisdom), Abhidharma (systematic philosophy of Law), Sûtras (historical or quasi-historical aphorisms attributed to Śākyamuni and other saints of yore), Tantras (traditional esoteric meditations of the Āgamas and their stark ritual practices known as the Adhigamas) and a hazy knowledge of Vinaya (monastic discipline and logic prescribed by the sectarian schools of Buddhism). The age lacked that solid historical frame characteristic of our age of researches; and if we, with all our facilities for studies and travels, find it so difficult to trace the historical development of the concept of Dharma-cakra and Kālacakra from the maze of the wheeling systems of sectarian literature and philosophy, we can imagine how difficult Kumārajīva and Fa-hsien must have found to face the followers of orthodox schools who confined themselves to their narrow grooves at the expense of those whom they considered to be their opponents. According to K. Ch'en " the importance of Fa-hsien in the history of Sino-Indian relations lies in the fact that he was the first Chinese monk actually to arrive in India, study there for a lengthy period, and then return to China with the sacred scriptures. He also made significant contributions to the knowledge of Indian history and geography. The Indians as a people do not appear to possess as keen a sense of history as do their neighbours the Chinese. " If Kumārajīva by his biographies of Aśvaghosa and his successors unwittingly gave a historical frame to the development of the Northern Haimavata school of Buddhism, then equally Fa-hsien undertook his arduous journey to the cradle of Buddhist civilisation in Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Lumbinī and Rāmagāma, where he is said to have met Śākyā Buddhābhaddra who initiated him into the mysteries of the traditional Āgamas. It is a matter of interest to the entire human community that the esoteric Āgamas and the stark practices of the Adhigamas, were accepted by the clan of the Śākyas including Śākyamuni as the fundamental article of the worship of their Yakṣa god Śākyavardhana and were interpreted as the Nikāyas by his followers.

On his way back, Fa-hsien appears to have obtained the Vinayas of the Mahāsāṅghika and Sarvāstivāda schools at Pāṭalipūtra and of the Mahīśāsaka school in Ceylon, while Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra seems to be popular from the Gangetic India to Ceylon. Fa-hsien was back to Ch'angan in 414 A.D., when Kumārajīva had differences with Buddhābhaddra; and the

former's followers had fabricated charges against the latter's discomfiture. According to Kumārajīva's biography, Kumārajīva, before the arrival of Buddhābhaddra and Fa-hsien, had got into a voluminous correspondence with Hui-yüan who had rejected Confucianism and Taoism in favour of the Prajñā-literature, Jñāpaprasthāna (on the sources of knowledge) and Abhidharma-hṛdaya (the heart of Abhidharma translated by Saṅghadeva). However, Hui-yüan does not seem to be satisfied with the abstract ideas of Dharmakāya (Buddha's body as the essence of the Dharma (Laws), and was groping around for some concrete image, endowed with sensory faculties, that he could grasp. If the Brāhmanic world of India was confounded by the concept of the Three Vedic Steps of Viṣṇu, the practical Chinese world seems to be equally disturbed by the concept of permanent self in Saṃsāra (endless round of rebirths in the world) and Nirvāṇa which the Indian Buddhists do not seem to have realised. Like the followers of the Yakṣa cult of the Himālayas the Chinese questioned : How could there be permanent self in Nirvāṇa, if there is no permanent self in our Saṃsāra ? If there is no self what is it that enters into Nirvāṇa to enjoy the bliss of that state? We would now see how far the correspondence between Kumārajīva and Hui-yüan was successful in its approach to the basic human problem in evolving universal values from the tangled maze of religious treatises obtaining at their time. A model of purity of conduct and religious devotion, Hui-yüan had been notified of Kumārajīva's arrival by a younger brother of the Ch'in ruler, Yao Sung; and the Exchange of complimentary letters and the sacred scriptures between the two appears to have taken place sometime in 405 and 406 A. D. In his second letter Hui-yüan seems to be disturbed by the alarming news of Kumārajīva's plans to return to his native country; and " hence he takes the liberty to submit some summary questions about some tens of subjects, and he hoped that the learned Kuchean Master would have spare time to explain these one by one. Although the questions do not pertain to the major problems as (we find) in the sūtras, yet I should like to have them solved by you."

This was the beginning of the correspondence about the meaning of the word " Prajñā " (gnosticism) and about its relation to " Upāyakauśalya " (expediency or skill in means) and the Bodhisattva's " Sarvajñatā " (omniscience) and the " anupattika dharma-kṣānti " (equanimity towards

the non-origination of the laws) and the realisation of “ Dharmatā ” (true nature of the law both human and divine); about the “ Dharmakāya ” (Buddha’s body as the essence of the law) and its relations to the Three Vehicles of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha; and finally about the “ Atta ” (soul) and “ Anatta ” (non-soul) in the scheme of “ Nirvāṇa,” “ Manas ” (mind), “ Citta ” (mental functions that are faster than the speed of light) and Vijñāna (scientific concept of the origin of the cosmos” as the historical Buddhas Kanakmuni and Kāśyapa conceived it and as Kapilamuni’s Sāṃkhya-system of philosophy explained the evolution. Evidently this was a new age for China, but the Śaiva-yogins, the Vedic Indo-Aryans and the revolutionary Buddhas had overleaped themselves and fallen on the stumbling block of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph with the consequent revolt of Upālī. What is most illuminating in these discourses is the translation of Kātyāyanīputra’s Jñāprasthāna and Abhidharma-hṛdaya by the Kashmiri teacher Saṅghadeva, which rejected the Hīnāyānist confessio-fidei of “ Ye dhammā hetu pabhavā ” etc. attributed to Śākyamuni by the Theravādins of the Pali Abhidhammā-piṭaka in contravention of the religious tradition of the Śākyas and the direct evidences of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph way back in the third century B.C. I agree with Professor Zürcher that these Chinese translations may yield some concrete historical results on the dark period of the intermediate world. Out of the conflicts in the minds of these supermen from Kapilavastu, Kashmir, Kashgar, Kuchā and Ch’angan in China, we are now in a better position to trace the links in the chain of the concept of Dharma, as it developed from the Nirvāṇa-Era down to the Śāka-Era of 78 A.D. which the Licchavi Kings of Nepal accepted against the common religious and cultural background of Mount Sumeru. There is no way out for us but to accept the decisions of Kātyāyanīputra, Aśvaghosa and Emperor Kaniṣhka as to the transition from Dharma-cakra-pravartana to Kāla-cakra-pravartana in the Fourth Buddhist Council convened by them.

There is no doubt that Kumārajīva, through his translations, was responsible for the establishment of the Mahāyāna School of San-lun or the School of Three Treatises on the foundation of the Three Treatises of Emperor Kaniṣhka mentioned above. As a professor of Mādhyamika (middle-path) philosophy, Kumārajīva seems to be aware of the special nature of

the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (the white-lotus-aphorism of the true doctrine). But judging from the trend of the questions of Hui-yüan, Kumārajīva had to take note of the moral make-up of the Chinese mind to teach off-hand the traditional principles of the esoteric worship of Āgama and the stark practices of Adhigama associated with the Yakṣa cult of Śākyavardhana or Virûpākṣa. More because Kumārajīva was a Royal guest and provided with the pleasures of the inner apartments which he was loath to shun for the principles and practices Kaula-mata as it was interpreted by Buddhabhadra on the ancient roots of the Yakṣa cult of Sumeru. This doctrinal difference between Kumārajīva and Buddhabhadra was responsible for the charge of heresy and the consequent banishment of the latter from the capital. It is passing strange that Hui-Yüan warmly welcomed Buddhabhadra in Lushan for his reputation as a Dhyāna master after his debacle with Kumārajīva. In the Tsaoteng monastery situated at the foot of Mount Kuifeng, 20 kilometres to the south-west of the city of Sian in the province of Shensi, the Chinese people have preserved the "Sarīra-stûpa" of Kumārajīva where he made all his translations and passed away in 413 A.D. But Buddhabhadra survived as one of those "invisible men of history" to preach his heresies of the transition to Bhairavi-cakra-pravartana at its very inception.⁹³ In the succeeding chapters we will examine the religious implication of the transition to Bhairavi-cakra-prevartana with reference to the Nepalese inscriptions in archaic Northern Brāhmī characters.

CHAPTER VII.

The influence of the revolutionary concept of the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra of the emerging Śaka and Kushāṇa tribes of the Kasa and Khasa origin :

In the previous chapter we have made a general survey of the religious and cultural influences of the new emerging tribes of the Śakas with particular reference to the contribution of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu and the Koli emigrants of Rāmagāma to the regions of central Asia and particularly of the river Niyā after their dispersion from Suvarṇabhūmi (Gold country) on the banks of river Gaṇḍakī consequent upon the invasion of Virūḍhaka. The chronicles of Nepal reflect the transition to the new revolutionary faith of the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra with the ascendancy of the matriarchal lunar dynasty of King Nimiṣa and the vast conquests of his successors under the banner of Paśupati. Thus we can see that it was more the triumph of the Kāla-cakra theory than the temporary successes of the Śakas, the Kasa and Khasa tribes who emerged as factors in different intermontane pockets of the Himālayas under the rule of different dynastic or tribal leaders. It would be useful at this age to discuss how the Śaka rulers bequeathed to their Licchavi successors the Śaka-Era and the system and the technique of the Śaka-coinage.

Before the ascendancy of the Śakas over the political horizon of the Himālayas, the Kauśikan Kingdom of Videha (with its Capital of Janakpur in Nepal Tarei) hated the Yavanas (the Greeks and the Persians), the Kasas, the Khasas and the Ābhīras as the Mlecchas (outcasts) who came from beyond the pale of the Brāhmannic society. But when the mixed tribes steadily gained military successes, they came to be recognised by the Kauśikan priests as the equals of the warrior castes of the Licchavis and the Mauryas. It is interesting to note that the drama of the advancement or the recession in the scale of caste-system was being played on the stages of the Vāgwatī, the Kauśikī and the Gaṇḍakī river valleys. And while there were great vicissitudes in the political fortune of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas along the great trade routes and city marts of Central Asia, the

Varmma Kings of Nepal appear to have preoccupied themselves with purely religious matters.

Judging from the records of Central-Asia, China and Tibet, there seems to be a regular exchange of religious teachers between Kapilavastu and Central Asia long before the Chinese people began taking interest in the religion and the culture of the west. The names of the Śakyas and the Kolīs obtaining in the early chronicles and inscriptions of Nepal seem to run so close to the Prākṛit names of the teachers contained in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Central Asia that their migrations to these regions appear to be absolutely beyond dispute. If the clash between the Greeks and the Mauryas led to the widening of the intellectual horizon of the peoples of Gangetic India, the confrontation of the newly emerging forces of the Śakas and the Kasa peoples with the Pahlavas, the Greeks and the Chinese peoples seem to have brought about a greater widening of the human outlook than heretofore. Evidently this seems to have led to the Śaivo-Buddhist religious and cultural conquest of China and through China on to Korea and Japan. Our chronicles, works of sculpture, inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts in transitional scripts and languages have survived in Nepal to bear testimony to the great change in human thinking, which had, in one way or another, exercised a lasting effect on masses of mankind over the world. In this labour of love and faith the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas appear to have acted as the carrier of this Sumeru culture.

After the Aśokan edicts, we do not find much of revolutionary significance except for rare inscriptions of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Kushāṇas along the Indo-Gangetic basins of India. Aśoka began and ended with Platonic humanism and the dimly understood concept of the Aryan-Eight-Fold-Paths in his inscription of Lumbini and Taxila, while the reactionary Śunga dynasty of Kauśikan origin made a fool of the catholic Mauryan Emperor by making the title of "Devānāmpiya" (beloved of the gods) as being tantamount to that of an ignoramus.

The dilemma of the Kauśikan Brāhmins of Gangetic India :

As great intellectuals, the Kauśiks had written Upaniṣadas, and the celebrated Kauśik poet Vālmiki had now come out with the immortal epic of Rāmāyaṇa by manipulating the Buddhistic legend of the Dasaratha-

Jātaka to subserve Brahmannic ends. The clever Kauśiks shifted the venue of the popular legend of Rāma from the Gaṇḍakī region to the new Śunga-capital of Ayodhyā and exploited the beautiful name of Rāma to the dynastic advantage of their Master Puṣhyamitra. But while the determined and reformed Śākyas and Kolis were building active religious communities under their respective Schools and vihāras in Central Asia, the Kauśiks did not seem to have identical religious organisations to hold their indiscriminate beliefs in check. As for example, the Aśokan inscriptions do not treat the bovine species as sacred, but the Śungas, for no valid reason, introduce the caste taboo against the use of beef and fermented liquor. Thus while the Kauśiks of the Kośi regions of Nepal and Gangetic India claimed to refrain from these sinful practices, the same Kauśikan Brāhmins, when they went to live in Gandhāra recommended the sacrifice of a calf and strong drinks in Yajñas (sacrificial altars) and partook of the delicacies of their "Yāgas" (animal sacrifices) in the name of their Vedic gods. In the absence of strong religious communities conscious of their duties and responsibilities to protect their traditional doctrines, the intellectual caste of the Kauśikan Brāhmins seem to have found themselves at liberty to prescribe their doctrines to the varying need of their clients of different climes.

In order to understand how such consequences followed in the wake of the Śaivite Yoga, the Vedic Revelations and the Buddhistic revolutions, it would be necessary to make a comparative study of the basic nature of the concepts involved through authentic relics, judicial customs, tradition and inscriptions rather than from the sectarian writings of conflicting schools,—which tend to show that the cult of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati coming from the Indus-valley-civilisation of Hinduism represent the affirmation of the hopes and fears of humanity, and that Buddhism represents the denial of the psychological practices of the Yoga (self-discipline), of the Yajñas (sacrifices) and of the Vedic Yāgas (sacrificial offerings with clarified butter and wine) as a direct challenge to the veracity of the Vedic Revelations and the Chronologies and of the magical capacity of the Vedic Mantras (Spells) to pacify, prosper, overpower and destroy their opponents under the caprices of the 330 million Indo-Aryan gods of the sky.

It is interesting to note that, after the edicts and the monuments of Aśoka, the Prākṛit and the Sanskritic inscriptions of the Indo-Greek, the Śaka and Parthian war lords try to transplant their own tradition on the soil of India. If the syncretism of the Yakṣa cult of Virûpākṣa and Buddhism after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph carried the new religious furore to North-west and North-east Asia and through Central Asia to China and beyond, the principal scene of the encounter of the north-western conquerors and the Kauśiks was the city of Mathurā. During the reign of the last of the Mauryas, the Kauśikan priest Pātanjali had absorbed the Śaivite Yoga system in the Brāhmanic philosophy of life and had gone even so far as to criticise the last of the Mauryan Kings for the sale of Śaivite statues. The Śungas and the Kānva Kings supported this Brāhmanic revival, restored the Brāhmanic customs suppressed by Chandra Gupta Maurya and Aśoka and reinstalled the Brāhman priests. However the Sumeru culture of the North served as a bridge between the Bhāgavata, cult of Viṣṇu and Mahāyānic Buddhistic cults of the Himālayan countries, and between them they absorbed the many cults of Light Deities that had developed in the intermediate lands of the Śakas.

It is remarkable that the Indus-valley-cult of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati with its principles of self-discipline and sacrifices had acted as a bridge of understanding in the intermediate zones of Central Asia and Gangetic India. Unlike the Chinese peoples with their atheistical philosophy of Taoism and Confucian rules of life, the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Kushāṇas and the Kauśiks understood only theistic cults with images of their gods, sacrifices to them through Tabiti (Fire-god) over an altar in their day-to-day worship and simple faith in their Almighty Sun God Mihira-Helios, whom the Kauśiks also identified with their Vedic God Sūrya. And as the Great Mother Goddess and Oesho (Śiva with his bull) had provided the point of contact between the sun and the moon gods and goddesses and the Buddhas with the Third Eye of Śiva in the scheme of the astro-psychic theory of Kālacakra, it was not now difficult to convert the Indo-Greeks and the entire intermediate races of the Yavanas to the faith of the Buddhas or to Bhāgavata-dharma introduced by the Kauśik patriarch Dvaipāyana.⁹¹

The foreign invasions appear to have given a fresh impetus to the synthesis of rigid caste-system in Brāhmanic India somuchso that the Kauśika-gotra and the Kāśyapagotra had discovered a common platform of racial identity with the Suvarṇagotra peoples. This was true also of the orthodox Kādambas in their Mathurā inscriptions, where they appear to have reconciled themselves to the lower caste of Kṣatriyas (warrior caste) under the impact of the Indo-Scythian cult of the Śiva as Maheśvara (God of gods) in lieu of the Vedic gods of the sky. Although there are stray examples of the trial by ordeal in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin record of South India the change with the Śaka invasion appears to be spasmodic, so that we do not find a closely connected account of the steady process of the evolution of religious and social development as in the architecture, sculpture and inscriptions of Nepal. It would be useful at this stage to sum up briefly the results of the Akhaemenian inscriptions against the religious, cultural and political backgrounds of the pre-Mauryan inscriptions in Brāhmī script and Prākṛit language.

A brief survey of the inscriptions before Aśoka :

We have already pointed out how the authentic references to the early history of India opens with the inscriptions of the Akhaemenian kings who have written about the rise of the Śaka peoples under three denominations living between the Empire of Persia and North-western India. Then, too, we have made a historical assessment of the pre-Mauryan Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph enshrining the ashes of Śākyamuni and his next of kin and also underlined the tremendous significance of its expression of " Sali-lanidhana " vis-a-vis the Yakṣa cult of Śākyavardhana and Virûpākṣa which sparked the greatest religious speculation with its concept of " Anādinidhana " in the three continents. The pre-Mauryan copper-plate-inscription (Sohgaaurā, Gorakhpur District U.P.) in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī script of circa 3rd century B.C. throws interesting sidelight on the rural custom of storing the " fodder and wheat and loads of ladles, canopies and yoke-pins and ropes in store-houses as protection against the draught under the direct rules prescribed by Mahamagana (Mahamatana=vulgo Mahato or Mahatasa) of the capital of Śrāvastî comprised by the district of Nepālganj on the western Tarei region on Nepal. These were to be

used only in times of urgent need and with the advent of draught, and were to be issued to the tenants of Tiyaṇi (=Tryavenî=junction of three roads for vehicles or three rivers for boats). Above the lines are the symbols of three-storeyed structures together with the tree-in-railing, lotus-bud and moon-on-mount. It is interesting that these symbols form part of the ancient monuments of Nepal. Śrāvastî was the capital of the kingdom of Kośalî on the border of the kingdom of Kapilavastu, where Śākya-muni spent a part of his life; and it is remarkable that the Indo-Greek, Śaka, Pahlava and the Kuṣhāṇa kings have absorbed the title of Mahata in their protocol. Another pre-Mauryan edict is the Mahāsthān (Puṇḍranagara, Bogra district, Bengal) in Brāhmî script and Prākṛit language, which seems to derive its authority from the Mahamatas of Śrāvastî for the donation of oil, Gaṇḍake (=gold tokens from Gaṇḍakî) and rice in the treasury for the emergency use of the pre-Mauryan community of the Buddhists known as Saṃvagga (Saṃvargas). But judging from the discovery of Aśoka's inscription in Greek characters (vide note⁵³), the Taxilā Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription may be safely attributed to Aśoka and the mention of "Ayro atthagiko maggo (Aryan Eightfold path) lends support to the validity of our argument regarding the interpretation of the Aśoka's inscription of Lumbinî (see Chapter V).

After Aśoka the stūpa of Bārhut lying about a hundred miles to the south-west of the present city of Allahabad, and the Bārhut Buddhist pillar inscription are standing proofs of the fact that Buddhism was a factor despite the Brahmanic revival under the reactionary Śunga-kings who claimed their origin from the Kauśikagotra. Bārhut was a much frequented highway during the Mauryan and the Śunga periods of Indian history as it was strategically situated between Vidisā (=Bhilsā in Bhopal state which then was the capital of Ākara and Dasārṇa of what is today the Indian district of East Mālwa in Central India) and the Mauryan and the Śunga capitals of Pāṭaliputra (=Patna) and Ayodhyā on the banks of river Sarayu with side roads branching off to Kauśāmbî (=Kosam on the banks of river Jumnā in the district of Allahabad which was the ancient capital of the Vatsa) and Banaras on the banks of the Ganges. King Menander (155-140 B.C.), when he invaded Central India, appears to have taken this route and

personally witnessed the Buddhist stûpas of Bārhut which had scores of inscriptions mentioning donations to the Buddhistic foundations by wealthy merchants, nuns, artisans and several queens of the Mitra-dynasty from Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbî, Mathurā, Nāsik, Karhād, Berar and practically from all the states of northern and southern India. But if the Indo-Greek king Menander had adopted Mahāyānic Buddhism, the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription of Heliodoros shows that the eclectic Greek people had also imbibed the influence of Dvaipāyana's "Bhāgavata-dharma" (the doctrine of the holy Bhāgavata associated with the Vedic cult of Viṣṇu) at a time when the concept of Bhārata for Central India seems to be supplanting the Aśokan name of Jambudvîpa: The Gosûndî stone inscription in the Chitoragadh district of Rājputānā and the Bārhut Buddhist inscription of the time of the Śungas seem to be important for giving the origin of the Vaiṣṇavite Sarvatāta as the son of Pārāsari and of the Buddhist Visvadeva as the son of Gārgî (Lopa) from Veṭhadîpo and Mithila respectively. It is remarkable that Dvaipāyana was the son of Parāsara and Satyavatî, and Gārgî was a prominent woman philosopher at the court of King Janaka.

On the whole the Mauryan administration does not seem to be popular with the Kauśik as well as with the peoples of Gangetic India. The sons and grandsons of Aśoka had variance among themselves for pelf and power, with the result that the kingdom of Kalinga and the south became independent under the Chedi and the Śātavahana dynasties. The Kauśik Śunga commander-in-chief Puṣhyamitra of the Mauryan Emperors took advantage of the deteriorating situation and assassinated, for his own interest the last Mauryan Emperor Brihadratha during a military parade in about 187 B.C. and occupied what remained of the western provinces of the Empire of the Mauryas. This tragic event synchronised with the steady attack of the confederation of the Indo-Greek and the Śaka-Pahlava leaders on the Kauśikan Śunga and Kānva kingdoms so that the once mighty empire of the Mauryas disintegrated into a multitude of local kingdoms with tribal religious notions, languages and loyalties under the divisive Mitra, Kośala, Nāga and other petty local dynasties which ultimately paved the way for the Śaka and Kushāṇa supremacy in India.

The confrontation of the Kauśikagotra, Kāśyapagotra and Suvarṇagotra peoples in the intermediate regions of Central Asia and India :

We have seen how the conflict in the minds of the Kauśiks, Kāśyaps and Gold-race peoples had been prolific of a very rich culture at the junction of China from the inter-Himālayan bases of Suvarṇabhūmī and Strī-rājya (Kingdom of women). Even though the Indo-Greeks and the Śakas dominated the political scene of India under the new concept of the " Brother Kings " on and from the second century B.C., yet, judging from his Shinkot-casket-inscription, King Menander appears to have tried to fill the intellectual vacuum by developing the religious theory of Samyak-Sambuddha in the name of Śākyamuni by reinterpreting the expression of " SALILANIDHANA ", obtaining in the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph, to mean that the sacred relics of the Buddha were ever-living entities, immortal and eternal. According to the celebrated texts of Milinda-pañho (Queries of Menander conceived on the lines of the questions of Upāli after the Great Passing contained in a Prākritic book known as Upāli-paripṛcchā) the Indo-Greek king appears to have become the disciple of the Buddhist monk Nāgasena and had adopted the social structure of the Mahāyānist community of Saṃvargas from the Gaṇḍakī Janapadas (democratic city-states of Gaṇḍakī).⁹⁵ Then we notice the steady encroachment of the idea on the Ayodhyā-stone-inscription of Kauśikī-putra (son of Kauśikī) Dhanadeva who describes himself as being sixth-generations removed from the cruel general Puṣhyamitra who appears to have performed Vedic-Horse-Sacrifices twice in order to atone for his sins of treachery to his master. It is remarkable that the cryptic expression " Ketanam " in the sense of containing the relics of his father Phalgudeva over the crematorium erected by Dhanadeva, seems to smack strongly of the Buddhistic funeral tradition of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph of Suvarṇabhūmī (Gold country).⁹⁶ Against the background of the intense warlike activities of the Śakas, the Palhosā-cave-inscriptions of the time of the Śunga king Ūdāka seem to be extremely important and significant of human progress in the claim of Kāśyapagotra and matriarchal origin by Āśāḍhasena who was a donor of the Cave-retreats. It is remarkable that the metronome mentioned in these Śunga inscriptions seems to be suggestive of the growing influence of Strīrājya (Kingdom of women) and of the matriarchal clan of non-Aryan Himālayan society over the orthodox Kauśiks who claimed pure Aryan

origin.⁹⁷ It may not be necessary to recapitulate what we have written about the ethnic composition of the Kāśyapagotra and Suvarṇagotra peoples who appear to have gone ahead with their amalgam of new social and political ideas to inspire the divisive tribal peoples speaking a Babel of languages with new loyalties to the universal concept of Dharma (Law). The Sumeru culture was at the root of this transformation and as the new races formed themselves under the confederation of the " Brother Kings " they gathered power and momentum to influence the world with their words and deeds to such an extent that the Kauśiks were compelled to admit their Aryan-Earth-goddess as Kāśyapî.

In one form or another we find the growing influence of the Yakṣa cults of the Gold-country on the colossal Yakṣa and Yakṣî figures of Par-kham and Besnagar and Patna, and Tree-goddesses Chulakokā and Sudar-sanā along with the non-Aryan Great Mother-goddess Śiri-mā (Oemā, Āmā, Ajimā or Śhree-devî) over the balustrades of Bārhut. As a direct result of the doctrine underlying the esoteric worship of Iśvaradeva (Śākyavardhana), Virûpākṣa and Hû-ṣa, nude Yaksîs, Mithuna-couples and Bacchanalian scenes are depicted frankly and freely in different parts of India. Then, too, the Paṭnā Image Inscription published by Cunningham (A. S. R., XV, p 2f) introduces the Yakṣan judicial custom of " Acachanîbîka " (पख अछ नीबीक) permanent and irrevocable grant) to India in order to give legal binding to charitable donations made by Yakṣa Savatānande (Samvarta-naṇda) for the encouragement and protection of the religious system of Kālacakra.⁹⁸ Like a ripple in a lake, the idea assumes the shape of a Śaka-millennia in the inscriptions and coins of the Indo-Greeks, Śakas, Kuṣhānas and Maukhāris. It is a sad irony of history that the concept of Nirvāṇa-era, which tentatively began with the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph and which sparked the greatest religious speculation of the astro-psychic system of Kālacakra in Suvarṇabhûmi, found a full and free scope for development in the intermediate countries of the Śaka-peoples and reentered India through the backdoor.

The inscriptions and coins of the Śaka, Kasa and Kuṣhāna Kings :

— We have seen how the religious and social ideas, that had entered the ethnic evolution of the Suvarṇagotra (Gold-race) peoples, had succeeded

in changing the unpredictable moods of the conquerors that threatened the political horizon of India with the thunder of invasion into a calm and specless sky of tranquillity. We do not find among these transformed tribes the tendency to perverse and sadistic atrocities and the expression of a deliberate policy of terror calculated to justify the cruelties of the conquerors under their claim of Divine origin or their notions of super-races. The Kauśik generation of Nāgasena, Āśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna and the galaxy of brilliant teachers seem to be entirely different from their ancestors. Under the influence of the Yogācāra doctrines of the Haimavata schools they appear to have indited scriptures that were acceptable to the multitude of races in these cross-roads of Asia and Europe. Born and brought up under the parents of Aryo-Mongoloid marriages such teachers as Kumārajīva and his like taught their kiths and kins to rely upon their closer religious and ethnic affinities with the allied races than with the supercilious people who claimed descent from their local gods. We have already pointed out how the words Śaka (शक), Ka-śa (क श), Kṣa-śa (क्ष श) and Kha-sa (ख स) occurring in their inscriptions are : so close, despite the variation in their spellings, that we cannot draw a hard and fast line of distinction as to their meaning. But as each successful tribe advanced its political power and social prestige, it was absorbed and accommodated in the scheme of the Mahāyānist society which did not recognise the distinction of class, caste, colour or creed. The result of this has been a very mixed population and as much a mixed cultural forces from Asia, Europe and North-Africa. Thus though the majority of conquerors generally came from Western and Central Asia and from Europe, they had no alternative but to yield to the religious and social ideas of the Yakṣas and the Kinnaras as it was being understood by the masses in the intermediate countries.

We have already said that those of the Śakas who could ride, wear armours and fight battles with distinction assumed to themselves the cognomen Varmma, and those who took to religious calling were endowed with the cognomen Śarmma irrespective of their caste, creed or of their origin. Fortunately there was no "Vṛśala" (half-caste) in this society of North-Western countries or of Central Asia, because the Śakas of all ethnic composition and colour had accepted Mahāyānic Buddhism and developed it against multifarious cultural backgrounds.

We have attempted in the previous chapters to show how the indigenous beliefs of the Himālayan, the trans-Himālayan and the cis-Himālayan peoples were tending to a synthesis even during the age of Śākya-muni. We have also seen how the beliefs of the Mountain tribes were permeated with heterodox elements of the worship of the Shepherd God Paśupati and the Great Mother Goddess of Fertility with the offerings of leaves and flowers. The Kauśiks who based themselves on the Revelations of the Vedas, absorbed those beliefs, hopes and fears within the context of their own teachings till the revolutionary Buddhas of the Gaṇḍakī Himālayas put up their cosmic theory of creation. It was, therefore, becoming difficult even with the period of Śākya-muni to tell whether the various beliefs of the peoples were of Himālayan, trans-Himālayan and cis-Himālayan origin. What is clear for all to see is the fact that, even with the period of Queen Sivālī and Śākya-muni, the mountain cairn of the Himālayan shepherd god Śākyavardhana had found symbiosis with the Buddhist stūpas and Caityas. But while the Pāśupat Yogīs of the Vāgwatī valleys developed the psychological aspects of pre-Aryan worship of the Great Mother Goddess and her consort, the peoples of the Gaṇḍakī valleys appear to have developed the architectural aspect of the stūpas and the Caityas to explain their cosmic theory of creation. This accounts for the architectural development of the Stūpas and the Caityas and the sculptural development of the images of Oeso (Śiva) and the first steps of Yoga-system with some of the Śaka tribes which the Chinese people appear to have absorbed in their scheme of Taoism through the Śākya and Kōlī emigrants in the names of the historical Buddhas and Buddhism.

The chronicles and the living religious traditions of Nepal offer the best clues in correlating and interpreting the real significance of the early scripture and the monuments. These traditions are so deeply rooted in Nepal, that the changes in the scheme of religion or the pattern of life at different periods of history, could not suppress them. Professor G. Tucci in his "Oriental notes on The Tibetan 'White-sun-moon' and cognate deities" has confirmed by his scientific excavations and sensational discoveries what we have stated here.⁹⁹ There could be no doubt but that the ideas and monuments that were dimly forming themselves in the river valleys of the Vāgwatī, Kauśikī and the Gaṇḍakī Himālayas gathered a new

strength, independence and momentum in the midst of Persian and Greek religious and cultural impacts to propel itself into the Chinese world.

Thus we see that, while the hybrid tribes of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas developed a new sense of human values in the free atmosphere of Mahāyānic Buddhism, the Hinayānist schools and the Missions of Aśoka concentrated upon the personality of Śākyamuni and explained the existence of the historical Buddhas as some of his previous incarnations. It would take us too far afield to trace the development of the Vinaya Schools in all their ramifications beyond what we have discussed in the previous chapter, which is adequate for our present purpose. On the other hand, it would be useful to discuss some of the Śaka, Pahlava and Kuṣhāṇa inscriptions, and coins superinscribed with Śaivite or Buddhistic images, Kharoṣṭhī scripts and Greek monograms to see how the process of adaptation and amalgamation was being practised in India itself. We have already discussed at some length the contamination of Greek and Iranian Light Deities as well as the principles of Yoga with Śaivite and Buddhistic gods and thoughts in Śakasthāna (the land of the Śakas) and in China. The Mahāmāyūrī gives a list of some of these Naivāsika deities. We have already adequately quoted Chinese sources as to the occurrence of the Buddhist temples of Mahāyāna Tīrthikas in the region of Pāmīr and how they transmitted Mañjuśhree-dharma to the peoples of China.

It would not be out of place to say that the highest speculation after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph seems to be sparkled by the Śaivite cult of the Shepherd God Paśupati and the Great Mother Goddess which had its roots in the crude and remote mythology of the proto-Aryan peoples of Moheñjodāro and Harappā. It was in the forests of Kapilavastu that Śaivism appears to have gathered new momentum, when it got amalgamated with the Yakṣa cult of Virūpākṣa and Hū-ṣa which seems to have found expression in the various statues of the Yakṣas and the Yakṣīs. The legends and symbols of the same idea appear to have acted as a pivot on which the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas wove round the cult of their Light Deities. The bathing of the baby Buddha by the two traditional Nāgas of A-nou-ta and the "Scripture of the Emission of the rays by the Buddha" obtaining in China so early—are but the offshoots of the early tradition of the bathing of Paśupati by the Nāga kings of the Himālayan lakes and the Third

Eye of Śiva. "Let us pass by the town of Śivapura located somewhere near Peshavar" writes Professor G. Tucci (the descriptions of the Siboi and their habits which led the Greeks to call them descendents of Heracles need not be mentioned because the Siboi were not in Gandhāra); more important are the images on the Indo-Greek coins which, though purely Greek iconographically, are related to local gods, some of which are homologous to Śiva; on the other hand, fine pieces of the Hindu Shāhi period—consequently many centuries later—testify to the cult of Durgā and Śiva in the same regions. We can, therefore, thus safely assume that the Devî and Śiva in whatever shape and symbols were worshipped in Gandhāra and neighbouring countries, even if they had peculiar names; they might have been worshipped as Yakṣa, as naivāsika or laukika or grāma-godlings and gods; but their presence there is *certain*.¹⁰⁰

The inscriptions and coins of the Śakas :

The first Śaka coin to be struck with the superscription of the figure of an elderly King Saubhûti (Sophutou in Greek characters; Sophutes of the Greeks) does not seem to have any religious *significance*.¹⁰¹ At the time of Alexander's invasion this Śaka King appears to have ruled a kingdom on the banks of river Akesines (Chenāb) during Circa 330-300 B.C. Politically the Greeks appear to be too powerful for the then Kings or the nomarchs of North-western India, so that they were just about trying to shine in the borrowed feathers of Greece and to take pride in such titles as Rajātirāja, Mahārāja, Mahārājādhirāja etc. in lieu of the simple Prākṛit titles of Mahamagana (Mahāmatana) Lājina or Rājā or Nripa or Hāng or Dāng obtaining in the early principalities of Vāgwatî, Kāuśikî and Gaṇḍakî river valleys. On the last analysis, the Greeks themselves seem to have borrowed these titles from the Akhaemenian Kings and their inscriptions.

For a scientific study of the dual sovereignty of the Śakas and their ancient customs, we cannot underestimate the record of Nepalese chronicles with reference to the dual sovereignty of the Śaka King Paṭika with the Kings of the second dynasty of the Kirāntas, till the total victory of the lunar dynasty of Nimikha (Nimiṣa=निमिष) represented in the Nimi-jātaka. Whatever the nature of the political power of the Persians and the Greeks,

the religious notions, customs and traditions appear to have survived the vicissitudes of regnal authorities. It is only against such a wide background of religious and cultural mileau, that we can study the steady transformation of the dynastic history, the changing tone of their inscriptions and the bilingual nature of their coins.

It would be useless for us to look into the boiling cauldron of inter-racial strifes and dynastic quarrels in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Central Asia and of the Strategic countries bordering on what are the passes of Pakistan and India today. All that would be of interest for our comparative religious study is the growing use of the city Goddess of Puṣkalāvati with a lotus in her hand and the humped bull of Śiva. Neither would we like to link ourselves with the argument whether Strato preceded Menander or vice-versa or even which of them fought Vasumitra over the bank of river Sindhu (Indus). With reference to the earliest Chinese documents, we have already seen that they learnt the name of Buddha and the first steps of Yogic practices from the Śākyas, Kolis, Yüe-Chih, Sogdians, Parthians and their like peoples of mixed origin. Their names and the scriptures they exported seem to be more eloquent as to their origin than the disputes of historians about their racial strifes for dynastic or for political power. If these " Western Barbarians " or " semi-civilised nomads " could produce such Masters as Nāga Sena, Kaśyapa Mātanga, Dharmapāla, Mahābala and scores of nameless teachers whose works have survived in foreign languages to tell us about their eminence, it would be difficult for us to draw a line of racial demarcation between the Śakas and the Yüeh-Chih (Tochari) as Professors Simoneta and Narain would have us believe. Late in the fourth century, the Chinese describe the celebrated Madhyamaka Master Kumārajīva as a Yüe-chih and scores of men with the cognomen Jīva appear in the Nepalese, Central Asiatic and Chinese documents. For our present purpose, it would be useful for us to take up the Greek King Menander, whose cultural contributions seem to surpass those of the Macedonian King Alexander the Great.

King Menander (Minedra or Milindh or Milindra c 155—140 B.C.) :

Because of his famous discussions with the Buddhist teacher, Nāgasena contained in the celebrated work of Milindapañho indited on

the line of Upāliparipṛcchā after the Nirvāṇa and the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph, King Menander forms a vital link in the chain of Euro-Asian religious development. According to the Ceylonese tradition of Milinda-pañho, King Menander has been identified with the Yona (=Yavana=Greek) King Milinda who became the disciple of the Buddhist teacher Nāgasena, 500 years after Sākyamuni's parinirvāṇa (death) in 544 B. C. (7). The Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscription spells his name as Minedra while the Tibetan Tangyur-collections and the Sanskrit text of Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣhemendra mentions his name as Milindra as a compromise between the early Prākṛit and Pāli sources.

According to Professor Simonetta, King Menander inherited the throne of King Antimachus II at his death in circa 130 B. C., when the Greek monarchy had probably changed from a purely hereditary one into some sort of military or semi-elective system. The date of King Menander has been the subject of heated debate among historians. But the composition of the Shinkot and Taxila Inscriptions of his time leave no ground for doubt that the so-called Yavana (Greek) Era of Menander was founded with the concept of "Sambuddha" as a direct sequel to the Nirvāṇa Era after the impact of Yakṣa cults upon the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph and the consequent Yogācāra doctrines of Upāli, which led to the dissensions among the earliest of the Buddhist communities in the very first Synod of Rājagṛha. Taking the Taxila-Copper Plate Inscription with the mention of Śaka Moga (Maues) and with the date of Panemos (Āṣhāḍha=June-July) 78 as his basis, Professor Narain has identified it with the Era of the Greeks founded in 128 B. C. by King Menander. Professor Simonetta relinquishes entirely the hypothesis of the Yavana (Greek) Era of 128 B. C., but he does not like to change the date of the first Śaka King Moga (Maues I) who is believed to be the founder of the Śaka dynasty and the Śaka-eras identified by the Indians with the Śaka or Vikrama Saṃvatas. Simonetta insists on his own date of 130 B. C. for the accession of King Menander, which conflicts with the so-far accepted tradition of the Greek King's rule. However, both the Greek and the Prākṛitic sources agree that there was an expedition of the coalition of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pāncālas down the valleys of the Ganges and the Yamunā under the leadership of King Menander, who appears to have ruled over the

Punjab from his capital of Sākala (Sialkot). Three important episodes are recorded in King Menander's adventure namely, (1) the siege of Śāketa which had become the capital of the Kauśikan dynasty of the Śungas ; (2) the siege of Mādhyamika-nagari ; and (3) the capture of Pāṭaliputra (Patna)—the ancient capital of the celebrated Mauryas. Altogether the ground covered by the expedition would be about 800 air-miles. The coalition appears to have broken up after the capture of Pāṭaliputra without achieving any permanent result. The Greek historians speak of Greek conquests in Patalene and its neighbouring districts of Hydaspes, Hispanis, Saraostes, Sigerdis and Barygaza as far as the Mediterranean area by sailing down the Indus (Sindhu) river, because the intermediate land-route to the Mediterranean sea was occupied by the Yūe-chih, the Śakas and the Pahlavas. What historians have really overlooked is the mention of the Nirvāṇa-era in the text of Milinda-paṇho which calculates Menander's death in the scheme of the Great Passing. Judging from the record of the Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of King Menander, we are presently in a position to understand that the Buddhist teacher Nāgasena seems to have developed the theory of Samyak-Saṃbuddha by qualifying the expression of "Salilanidhana" (mortal relics) obtaining in the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph with the dictum of "Praṇasamedā śarira Bhagavato Śakamunisa pratisthāpitam" and thereby starting the theory that the relics of Lord Śākyamuni was instinct with life eternal. Evidently this concept of Saṃbuddha does not take notice of the Hinayānist gospel of "Ye Dhammā hetupabhavā" etc. (see note 41) indited by the Theravādins (orthodox elders) of the Third Buddhist Council of Pāṭaliputra in the third century B. C. and included in their haloed scripture of Abhidhamma-piṭaka (Basket explaining the doctrine of the cause and effect). It would be useful for our readers to study Notes 41, 43, 46, 50 and 59 and relative texts for the genesis of the various confessio-fides consequent upon the impact of the astro-psychic theory of the Yakṣa system of Kālacakra and their practical application by the Śaivites, the Brāhmins, the Jains and the Buddhists on the deathbed of their faithfuls and in the following funeral ceremonies. According to Simonetta "Menander died probably in circa 110 B. C. which would be 30 years later than the so-far accepted date. The bilingual inscription on

some silver coins of King Menander (Smith's Catalogue, p 22) showing on the obverse helmeted bust of the King, reads in Greek characters "Basilēos Sōteros" (=of King the Saviour) Menandrou (=Menader). The reverse shows the Greek goddess of prosperity, strength and wisdom, Pallas Athene to left, holding aegis in left hand and hurling thunderbolt with her right hand while the inscription in Prākṛit language and Kharoṣṭhī-script reads "Mahārajasa Tratarasa Menadrasa" (=Great King Defender of faith Menander). The coins of Queen Agathokleias (Smith's Catalogue, Plate IV No. 11) shows up Heracles (the Greek counterpart of the mountain god Śiva) seated on rock and the inscription claims that she was true to the gods. Evidently the Indus-valley cult of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati was acting as a bridge between the Greek and the Yakṣa gods and goddesses in this intermediate zone. Professor Simonetta lists 11 Greek kings who immitate this coin type and monograms and who regarded themselves as the defenders of the symbiosis of this new faith along the cross-road of Europe and Asia. Unlike Aśoka, these Indo-Greek and the Śaka kings do not issue injunctions against Śaivite Yogic practices and Vedic sacrifices and sanctions for killing animals. If Heliodoros dedicated the Garuḍa-pillar inscription to Holy Vāsudeva (see Note 94) King Menander appears to have subscribed to the concept of Sambuddha. It is now clear that the transitional period of religious beliefs represented by King Menander and Heliodoros appears to have gone a long way to fill up to intellectual vacuum created by the warring sectarians of the Brāhmannic and Buddhistic creeds for their own interest. Politically the principalities of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas seem to be a very loose feudal system, in which the King's authority was about that which his intrinsic qualities could command or find his "Bāgā-Asā" (the brother of the King) to hold dual authority. We find this very title on Śaka coins and "Dvirājya" in Nepalese inscriptions which confirm the fact that the cauldron of the Central Asiatic States were melting to assume the shape and the stamp that the confederation of States could give them. The concept of the Suvarṇagotra origin of the yakṣas of Suvarṇabhūmi and Strirājya was at the root of the formation of these new ruling circles of the Śakas. Although very early religious documents of Central Asia do show the evils of the classification of the Brāhmanic caste, slave and satī sys-

tems, the inscriptions of the Indo-Greeks after Alexander and of the Śakas progressively rule out the Aryan concept of Divine birth or the solar or lunar pretensions of the ruling castes under the impact of the Suvarṇagotra (Gold-race) origin which the Śakas claimed. With the progressive formation of the hybrid Suvarṇagotra peoples they appear to have occupied Sistan (Śakasthāna), Jadān, Khasān, Khambuān, Bodān (Bhoṭṭān) as sister-states under the rule of "Brother Kings".

Professor Simonetta has adequately discussed the political and economic vicissitude brought about by Kuzula Kadphises with his invasion of An-hsi (Parthia) and Kao-fu (Kabul valley) by reference to the statement of the Chinese text of Hou-Han-Shu as being the basic reason for the establishment of the Śaka-Saṃvatsara (Śaka-Era). But judging from the direct evidences of the important inscriptions following in the wake of the Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions described categorically with the accompanying note, the real reason behind the establishment of the Śaka-era seems to be the preoccupation of the Suvarṇagotra-peoples with the problems of life and death. The usual occasion for making such inscriptions was when there was death in the family. The tragedy of the Indus-valley civilisation seemed to be buried under the Death's dominion of Moheñjodāro (the city of the Dead). Against such a terrifying historical background, the followers of the cult of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati had to make a break with the Indo-Aryan tradition as to the divine origin of the superrace and also of the treadmill of reincarnations visualised by the Brāhmanic priests and patriarchs. The occasion of death is the only time in everyman's life when man can be emotionally and psychologically most mature. The Chinese and the Egyptians have built necropolis, Socrates and Freud built intellectual and psychological edifices, the Indo-Greeks and the Persians synthesised their gods and goddesses with the Buddhistic and Brāhmanic pantheons with their concept of surrogate forms of immortality in the continuity of history and art, Christian saints and magicians have tried to vanquish or exorcise death, the Jain Tīrthan-karas tried to expose the pornography of death by their concept of Kaṇ-kālīs and the Buddhistic protagonists of the Greater and the Lesser Vehicles came out with the concept of Saṃbuddha and of the theory of cause and effect respectively but Death remained unconquered. After the great

passing and the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph, the Yakṣa cult of Virūpākṣa and Hū-ṣa appears to have associated the biological force of sex with the mystery of Death to evolve the theory of “Anādinidhana” (state of permanent beatitude and timelessness) so that man may conquer his thānatophobia and accept death as a companion while possessing his life here and now without the prospect of the pleasures of Heaven or of the Purgatory hereafter.¹⁰²

As we have discussed the religious aspects of the relative inscriptions with our Note 102, let us now try to see how the coins of Kusula Kadphises reflect the gradual change in his concept of Dharma. From representation in Smith's Catalogue (Plate VI, No. 14) the inscription on some bilingual copper coins of Hermaios and of the Kuṣhāṇa yavuga Kuzula Kasa (Kadphises I) reads in Greek characters on the obverse “basilêos sterossu Eramaiou” with the bust of diademed Hermaios to right. The reverse side shows up the diademed Heracles (the Greek counterpart of Śiva) holding in his right hand a “Gadā” (club) and lion's skin in his left hand while the circular inscription in Prākṛit language and Kharoṣṭhī script reads : “Kuzûla-Kasasa Kûṣana-yabugasa dhramathidasya.” Both the Greek and the Kuṣhāṇa brother-kings claim to be the defenders of the new faith and saviours. The circular inscriptions shows that “Kuzula” is his first name and the word “Kasasa” (Kasasya or Khasasya) gives his hybrid origin from Suvarṇagotra (Gold-race) origin. “Yavuga” is a Turkish word meaning a prince of the Kuṣhāṇas while the word “Dharmathidasya” is Sanskritised in our Nepalese inscriptions as “Dharmasthitasya” in the sense of Defender of Dharma (Law). On Kuzula's own coins we sometimes got the inscription “Saca-dharma-ṭhitasa” which possibly refers to his devotion to the “White Lotus Sûtra of the true doctrine” (Saddharma puṇḍarikasûtra : see note 91). The image of the crowned Heracle (Śiva) in the bilingual coin proves conclusively that King Hermaios and Kuzula Kadphises believed in the astro-psychic theory of Kālacakra and claimed to defend the system. Historians have overlooked the ethnic composition of the Śakas, Kasas, Kapsas and Kuṣhāṇas under the new system prescribed by Śaivism as the real factor in the introduction of the Śaka-saṃvatsaras. Judging from the Tibetan style dress, pleated hip-belt, knee-boots and the swords of the headlese-statue of Kaniṣhka in the

Museum of the city of Mathurā, the Śaka, Kasa and Kuṣhāṇa kings seem to be akin to the Khasa kings of Western Nepal in matters of their faith, dress and ethnic composition. It is quite possible that the early Śakas and the Śaka-Pahlavas were the offsprings of ancient Scythians with a pronounced admixture of the Persian and Greek blood in their veins and seem to be the Central Asiatic counterparts of the Yakṣas and Kinnaras inhabiting the intermediate zone of the Himālayas. The racial admixture of blood in the vein of these ancient tribes was a matter of degree and not of kind and they were converging to a symbiosis under the like faith stemming from the Sumeru culture-complex. But if the Yakṣa cults of Śākyavardhana or Iśvaradeva lost its spiritual direction and drive to degenerate into Bacchanal excesses down in India, the same astropsychic system appears to have led to the concept of Saṃbuddha and a better understanding of the revelation of the Lotus-sūtra.

The widening horizon under the new inspiration and faith and the ethnic composition of these intermediate races appear to have helped them to oust the purely Parthian and Greek predecessors from their sovereignty of Kabul and the regions of the the river Sindhu (Indus). And because they had closer religious, linguistic and ethnic affinities with the like tribes of the Himālayas and the city of Mathurā, they appear to have gone from success to success in their career of moral and physical conquest over such a wide area and so early in history.

Inscriptions and coins of King Moga (Maues I) the founder of the Śaka-era :

At the height of the political powers of the Persians and the Greeks, the Śakas (Scythians) were marrying, according to Herodotus, the Assyrian princesses from the family of Nebuchadnezzar the Great and had become the allies of Semitic Assyrians against the Aryan Emperors. But after the fall of the Babylonian Empire, the Śakas intermarry with the matriarchal clans of the ancient non-Aryan society and go on living their own life in opposition to the Persians and the Indo-Greeks till such time as King Moga (Maues I) is successful in founding the Śaka dynasty in the religious scheme of the Śaka-saṃvata. This king is known to the Chinese under the name of Yin-Mo-fu of Chi-pin which at the time may have formed parts of North-western India and Kafiristan. Against the background of the grief

of Alexander over the death of his horse Hephaestion the Taxila, Swat and Mathurā Inscriptions (see Note 102) reveal that the mortal remains of this pious king Muki (Moga or Maues I) and his horse were buried in a stûpa bearing the relics of Śākyamuni after the performance of religious solemnities for their salvation. Then, too, we find the synthesis of the Egyptian Isis and Horus with the Great Mother Goddess Hārītī. This fusing of the gods and goddesses under the doctrines of the Mother Goddess, Saṃbuddha and Śiva are illustrative of the quickening human intelligence, while making them more reasonable and universal. From our religious point of view the inscriptions of the time of Menander and Moga show clearly that the Śaka Eras of 57 B.C. or 78 A.D. seem to be founded in succession to the Nirvāṇa-era so nobly conceived by the Śākyas of Kapilavastu after the Great Passing and the consequent Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. In this new theocrasia of the Śakas the partiarchal and the matriarchal clans were requiring deities with an outlook as wide as the different races they came into contact with, and except where the sectarian interests of powerful priesthoods stood in the way, a unique process of assimilation appears to have occurred within the infrastructure of the astropsychic system of Kāla-cakra. As for the coins struck to commemorate this transition in the name of Moga, his governors namely, Liaka Kuzulaka and his son Paṭika, seem to be striking coins in the mint of Taxila; and what is most striking is the fact that the latter name forms part of the Nepalese chronology of the second dynasty of the Kirāntas. Thus we see that the kingdoms of the Śakas with its concept of Bāgā-Āsas (fraternal kings) was more in the nature of a confederation of the various states of the Suvarṇagotra peoples than a consolidated Empire under a despotic Persian or Greek Emperor.

According to Professor Simonetta " the death of Maues I (Moga), however, heralded a counter-offensive from the Greeks who, so far, had been cornered in the districts of Puṣkalavatī and Buchephala. " The Indo-Greeks do not appear to be mature for these powerful ideas of a classless and casteless theocrasia, so that they brought a counter-revolution to demolish the structure of this great new society. This situation appears to have lasted for a few years till Azes I (= Azou = Ajaya 36-30 B.C.) decided to collaborate with Spalirises (40-35 B.C.) to attack Hippostratus

(40-35 B.C.). The joint issue of the coins in the names of Azes I and Spalirises at Alexandria Arachosia bears testimony to this collaboration. The reign of Azes I lasted a few years and during his reign Apollophanes (35-33 B.C.) appears to have succeeded Dionysius (45-33 B.C.) and was in turn followed by Strato II (33-28 B.C.) who soon coopted Strato III. The advent of Azilises (31-22 B.C.) appears to have coincided with the downfall of the kingdom of the Indo-Greeks east of Hydaspes : however, Azilises never struck coins in Buchephala : the issues of Strato II and Strato III being followed in order by those of the Śaka kings Bhādayass (28-26 B.C.), Rañjuvula (Rājuvula 26-20 B.C.), Arta (20-15 B.C.) and his son Kharroṣṭa (Karahoṣṭa 15 B.C.) and finally by the small copper coins of Gondopharnes (=Gondophares=Gaṇḍapraṇa 5 B.C.-25 A.D.). This sequence of coins shows that during the reign of the Greek King Azilises, the Śakas extended their empire as far as Mathurā, “ but ”, according to Professor Simonetta, “ the dynasts ruling east of Hydaspes at most gave formal recognition to the Śaka king of kings but were in fact entirely independent. ”

More interesting than the hair-splitting controversies of these historians on the delicate dynastic and economic issues are the religious concept of Sambuddha, the ethnic composition of the Śakas under the influence of the matriarchal society and the association of the Persian regal title of Mahārāja with the title of Mahatasa (=Mahataḥ derived from Mahamatana obtaining in the ancient inscriptions of Suvarṇabhūmi) in the official designation of King Moga (Maues I) in the Taxila-copper-plate-inscription dedicated by Paṭika. If the title of Rājādhirāja (=Mahārājādhirāja—King of Kings) traces its origin to the old Persian title of Khshāyathiyānām Khshayathiya of the Akhaemenian kings, equally the title of Mahata or Mahataḥ appearing in the inscriptions of the coins of King Moga, traces its origin to the royal title of the ancient kings of Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī. It is remarkable that the community of Thārus in the same region have retained to themselves the title of “ Mahato ” even to our own day. Such names as Išvara, Sumeru, Suvarṇabhūmī, Gaṇḍakī, Strirājya and Suvarṇagotra associated with the names of Śiva and Buddha give unity and purpose to the spread of the Sumeru culture complex and the Nirvāṇa and the Śaka Eras.¹⁰³ We can read the dilemma of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas in their struggles, while the main spiritual stream to dis-

cover the human values flows on against diverse racial and cultural backgrounds.

“ While these events were happening ” proceeds Simonetta “ other Śaka tribes advanced slowly down the Indus valley to Patalene. The destiny of the Śakas, who occupied the southern regions (they spread even to Hyderabad), does not concern us. ” Here again I should like to point out that a branch of the earlier refugees from the Indus valley had already prepared the ground, where the Śakas could sow the seeds of the same Sumeru-culture-complex against the background of the Śaka-millennia which was so readily acceptable to these ancient peoples. To continue with Simonetta “ Judging from his coinage the reign of Azilises lasted from 5 to 10 years (c 30 B.C. to 22 B.C.) and in due time Azes II was coopted as joint king and shortly afterwards became sole king. The very long reign of Azes II (c 22 B.C. to 5 A.D.) witnessed the gradual disruption of the Śaka kingdom and its subjugation by the Pahlavas. ”

The struggle among the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas for pelf and power :

“ During the reign of Azes II there was a steady debasement of the coinage, which is, and we shall see the reason, exactly paralled by that of his contemporary Hermaues. Moreover, there were strong centrifugal forces at work in Gandhāra : some years after the accession of Azes II, the satrap of Taxila Zihonika or Zeionises, son of Manigul, began issuing coins in his own name and ignoring his sovereign. It appears that Azes II managed to reestablish order, but the new satrap, Indravarman, son of Vijayamitra, was practically independent (the corrupt Greek legend on his coins having so far defied interpretation we do not know whether it was intended to give the name of Azes). Indravarman's son “ Aśpavarman issued coins in his own name, but, when legible, the obverse legend gives us the name and titles of Azes (Ajaya), whose suzerainty was at least formally acknowledged.

“ In the meantime the Greeks of the Paropamisadae profited by the disruption of the Śaka kingdom and took the offensive : Hermaues (circa 50 B.C. to 5 A.D.) who had succeeded Philoxenus by marrying his daughter (Calliope-Mother or Daughter ?) attacked Azes by circa 10 B.C. was in possession of the whole of Arachosia. As Hermaues found Arachosia filled

with debased coins of Azes II, according to the known rule that bad money rules the good one out, he was also forced to debase his coinage also in Parapanisadae. It is noteworthy that the debasement of the coniage of Hermaeus is the strongest argument to date him as the contemporary of Azes II, while his use of monograms used by Spalyris, Spalirises, Azes I, Azilises and Azes II can only be explained by supposing that he took some districts (Arachosia) from Azes II. Otherwise besides being forced to date Hermaeus incredibly high, we are forced to admit that the coinage became debased, then suddenly regained its quality, then became debased again, both propositions being untenable.

“The revival of Greek power was nevertheless untenable, as in circa 10 B.C., Orthagnes became independent in Drangania. Whether he took the opportunity of the new troubles in Parthian Empire (by c. 10 B.C., a Mithridates had set forth as a claimant and Phrates IV found it advisable to send his sons to Rome as hostages) or whether he was rewarded for his help in the civil wars against Tiridates II, we cannot tell. Anyway he soon engaged in a policy of expansion towards the East, which was entrusted to his relatives (almost certainly his sons) Gondophares (Gaṇḍapraṇa) and Gadana. The Parthian attack crushed the resistance of Hermaeus, who was forced to evacuate Arachosia. Orthagnes died circa 5 B.C. and Gondophares succeeded him as king of kings. Under Gondophares the Pahlavas destroyed the last remnants of the kingdom of Azes II in the Indus valley, and the satrap of Gandhāra, Aśpavarma, hastened to recognise the suzerainty of Gondophares. In the first years of Gondophares his kingdom was organised as follows: Drangania under his direct sway, the territories formerly of Azes II (including those temporarily occupied by Hermaues) under Gadana, and East Gandhāra under Aśpavarma. This organisation did not however last long, and coins, which only bear the name of Gondophares, began to be struck also in Arachosia and in Gandhāra. The next move of Gondophares was the crossing of the Hydaspes and the annexation of the territories which had formerly belonged to the Eastern Greek kings. There he struck a number of Greek drachms. It was probably during the reign of Gondophares that Puṣhkalāvati and Western Gandhāra were wrested from Hermaues. Hermaues was thus sandwiched between the expanding Pahlavas and the Yüeh-chih, which was united by Kujula Kadphises to form the

Kushāṇa kingdom. Exhausted as he was by the struggle against the Pahlavas, Hermaues could not avoid union with Kujula Kadphises who, officially a foederatus and vassal, became peacefully the master of the Parapamisadae, so as to take the crown officially on the death of Hermaues in the first years of our Era (the Christian Era).”

Thus we see that Professor Simonetta gives us the clearest picture of the political vicissitudes of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas, which help us to put up the picture of the rise and spread of the Kuśāṇas in proper perspective against the broader background of the spiritual impact of the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra. The city of Puṣkalāvati with its presiding city-Goddess, holding a Lotus Flower and the Bull of Śiva appears to have acted as a converging point for the symbiosis of the faith of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas. Even Nāna and Dionisus converged to a symbiosis with Umā (Āma) and Śiva. “ In connection with the Pahlava conquest of Puṣkalāvati ” proceeds Professor Simonetta “ It is necessary to discuss a curious group of coins, found during the excavations at Taxila. In a hoard, including a number of gold objects, some silver drachms of Sasan, Sapadanes, Śatavastra and a Kadphises(probably Kujula) were found. As these coins were found all together and formed part of a hoard of precious metal, they cannot be assumed to have circulated in Taxila; on the contrary, since the times of Aśpavarma, silver had ceased to be minted in Taxila. They must, therefore, have come from Puṣkalāvati, the only town where the silver drachms must have continued to be used down to the last years of Hermaues (and apparently sometime later) and which may have been captured by the Pahlavas. ” At the same time Professor Alberto M. Simonetta seems to be extremely worried over the misuse and misreporting of numismatic evidence by archaeologists.

Under the circumstances we may get far better results than the so far recorded numismatic evidence if we supplement it by the record of available inscriptions.

Comparative study of the inscriptions and coins of Gaṇḍaprāṇa (Gondophar-nes) (circa 5. B.C.—25 A.D.) :

The very surname of Gaṇḍa associated with the word ‘ Prāṇa ’ (soul) is a proof that the name owes its origin to the Shinkot casket inscription of

King Menander which had spiritual affinity with the Gold-race tradition of Gaṇḍakī. At this particular period of history, he ruled over southern Afghanistan, but later he conquered the countries of the Indus (Sindhu) river basin. According to the Christian tradition Gaṇḍaprāṇa (Gondophares) was a contemporary of Saint Thomas. But the stone inscriptions of Gaṇḍaprāṇa in Takht-i-bāhī (about 8 miles north-east of Mardan in Yusufzai) in Prākṛit language and Kharosthī script, does not reveal any influence of Christianity nor of the Christian Era. On the other hand, Mahāyānic Buddhism appears to have prevailed over him. This inscription informs us that Gaṇḍaprāṇa ruled for at least 26 years.

What is of the utmost importance from Nepal's religious point of view is the fact that this inscription is dated in the year 103 and the Era by which this date is calculated has been a subject of heated debate among historians. "After careful consideration " proceeds the thoughtful Professor Simonetta " and so as to account in particular for its introduction in India by Gaṇḍaprāṇa (Gondophares) (previous inscription being dated with the Era of Menander) I incline to consider it as a Era proper to Drangania, and the only starting point which I can see is the annexation of Drangania to the Parthian Empire by Orodes I, between 87 and 80 B.C. This is a working hypothesis which accounts for the known facts, but I shall not be surprised if it should eventually prove wrong. However, accepting it for the time being, the inscription of Gondophares would be dated between 16 and 23 A.D. This Era was also used by the Kuṣāṇas till the establishment of the Era of Kāṇishka, and again after Vāsudeva I. To facilitate further discussion I shall hereafter refer to the Era to Takht-i-bāhī inscription as the Pahlava Era." So far so good.

We have already discussed the Buddhistic tradition accepted by King Menander in his Shinkot-Casket-inscription which confirms the validity of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph with specific amendment in the Scheme of the Nirvāṇa Era. The name Gaṇḍaprāṇa translated literally means the soul (of the tradition) of Gaṇḍa (Gold-race or Gold) country of the Gaṇḍakī river basins. The mysterious word KAP-SA (SHA) appearing with Gaṇḍaprāṇa's inscription of Takht-i-bāhī with reference to his hybrid origin seems to be extremely interesting from ethnic point of view. This inscription directly affiliates him with Kujula Kadphises whose Great So-

ciety of the Kasas did not accept the race-theory of the Indo-Aryans, nor did it reject lineal claim of the children of mixed marriages as bastards.

The superscription on the coins of Gaṇḍaprāṇa showing Pallas Athene standing to right with spear and shield and the monogram in Kharoṣṭhī characters reading Mi (मि)—tram (त्रं) indicates that this city Goddess was being associated with the Vedic god Indra. It is difficult to know why she was not identified with the mother Goddess with a Lotus flower, or why the aegis, usually represented as bordered with serpents and set with Gorgon's head to signify life-charm in the hands of Pallas-Athene, was transformed into spear and shield. The inscription in Kharoṣṭhī scripts and Prākṛit language reads : (above) Mahārāja Rajatirāja (King of kings), Tratarasa (Devavṛtasa or in other words Defender of Faith); (below) (Gu) dabha (?) rasa (Gondopharnes or Gaṇḍaprāṇa गण्ड प्राणस्य) meaning of or belonging or pertaining to Gaṇḍaprāṇa.

The other side has a diademed (helmeted) king on horseback to right; Greek monogram to right; inscription in Greek characters read : “ basileos basileon megalou Undopherrou ”. We are quoting this coin type from representation in Smith's catalogue Plate IX, No. 8, p. 54., where he gives the Greek and the Iranian version of his name, and we have supplemented it by the purely Prākṛit-Sanskrit version of the name and title of the great King of Kings Gondopharnes. Coming now to his faith, he seems to have a particular predilection for Mitram (if the epigraphists have made the correct reading of the monogram), which is another name for Indra—the King of 333 million vedic gods; and who enters Śaivism, Vedism and Buddhism as a subordinate deity to finally bind the faithfuls of the three faiths in the common bond of the psychological cult of Tantrāyāna. Unlike Aśoka, who styles himself as the beloved of the gods, (referring, perhaps, to the pantheon of Śiva) whom his ancestors worshipped, Gaṇḍaprāṇa claims to be the defender of faith underlined by the cementing factor of Mitram or Mithrus (Indra) who welds all the divergent faiths of the Greeks, the Persians and the Śakas into a harmonious whole. Unlike Aśoka, who claims to have falsified the Indian gods, and who issues injunctions against the Vedic sacrifices, Gondopharnes synthesises the gods of divergent faiths and does not prohibit Yogic exercises and Vedic sacrifices. His faith in Mahāyāna Buddhism with its wide arms embraces all castes, customs and

creeds. Like all the Kasas and the Khasas his ancestors were, no doubt, Perso-Aryans or Pahlavas who had married the Yakṣis and Kinnaris of indigenous origin.

After his long reign King Gondopharnes seems to be succeeded by his nephew Abdagases with the claim of being the next of kin to Gondopharnes. In this strange jigsaw puzzle of the relationship of the King of kings, brother kings, satraps and free-for-all kinship, Abdagases seems to come up against Sasan (25-35 A.D.) who claims to be the nephew of Aśpavarma (10 B.C.—5 A.D.) who was a contemporary of Gondopharnes for more than ten years. Judging from his inscriptions on drachms and tetradrachms namely “Aśpabhrataputrasa Goridramiasa Gudapharasa” (अश्व भ्रत पुत्रस गोरी द्रमिअस गुद फरस) in Prākṛit language and Kharoṣṭhī scripts, this nephew of Aśpavarma claims to be descended from Gondopharnes on the principles and practices of Gaurīdharma. According to the rules of Gaurīdharma, a girl attains the Virgin state of Gaurī at the tender age of eight years, when she is wedded to a bel-fruit as an insurance against widowhood. It is a prevailing custom among the Newar community, that a bevy of such virgins are wedded to the bel-fruit before the temple of Gaurī (the consort of Śiva) on some auspicious days every spring. Evidently “Gorīdrama” seems to be a Pahelvi-contamination of the Gaurī-dharma obtaining in Nepal to our own day. The transition in the concept of marriage and its laws is a remarkable feature in the Śaka and the Nepalese inscriptions in Licchavi characters. As a result of this curious claim of Sasan to the throne of Gondopharnes against the claim of Abdagases (25—35 A.D.) there was an internecine struggle between the two rival claimants so that Abdagases is able somehow to hold on to Drangania and Arachosia while Sasan appears to have secured Gandhāra at the expense of the districts east of Hydaspes.

Simonetta adds “Sasan and Abdagases were followed in Arachosia and Puṣkalāvati by Sapedanes and Satavastra (35—45 A.D.), while Taxila was obtained by Athama in 40 A.D. The solitary gold coin of Athama may indicate that by his time the old debased coin had become so discredited as to force the reintroduction of gold. Between 135—140 A.D. the Kuṣāṇas conquered Gandhāra while a king of unknown name with the title of Dajapatigrāja appears to have come to the throne for a very short time.”

As regards Kuzula Kadphises (10 B.C.—40 A.D.) Simonetta seems to depend upon what he calls the Pahlavic dates of 134 and 136 of Kalwān (near Taxila in Rawalpindi in West Pakistan) and Chir stūpa inscriptions in Prākṛit language and Kharoṣṭhī scripts between 47 and 56 A.D. International scholars have debated hotly about this era of Azes which he identifies with Pahlavic dates. “ Then, while Pakores, who had succeeded Abdagases in Drangania, captured Arachosia, Wima (Bhīma) Kadphises became king of the Kuṣāṇas and that mysterious personage known as “ Soter Megas ” began his career. We have overstrikes of Pakores on ‘ Soter Megas ’ and of ‘ Soter Megas ’ on Wima Kadphises between 35 and 50 A.D., which certify that these kings were roughly contemporary. Though at times ‘ Soter Megas ’ must have been exceedingly successful (his coins being plentiful all over Gandhāra and being found even in Afghanistan, north of the Hindukush) he was eventually eliminated by Wima Kadphises (50—130 A.D.) who first got control of the Indian territories and then captured Arachosia from Sanabares I (55—60 A.D.), who in the meantime had succeeded Pakores (35—55 A.D.). What Simonetta overlooks is the religious significance of the growing impact of the cults of Śiva and Saṃbuddha which really explain the cause as to the origin of these eras in the wake of the Nirvāṇa Era after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. The occasion for such inscriptions is always the death in the family and there is either Śiva or the Sarira of Śākyamuni for the deliverance.

To proceed with the economic and the political reasons given by Simonetta “ Drangania remained in the hands of the Pahlava rulers for some time longer; as we know of the two other kings : Sanabares II, who judging by the number of his known coins, must have ruled for quite a few years, and Gondophares II whose coins, vice-versa, are extremely rare. According to Pere Menasche, the Pahlavi inscription of the coins of Gondopharnes II might be read in various ways, therefore the name of the king is quite uncertain. ” International scholars have spelled the name of Gondopharnes or Gondophares from Prākṛit and Greek inscriptions as “Gudabharasa” and rendered it into transitional Sanskrit in the form of Gunduprāṇa which would be Gaṇḍaprāṇa (soul of Gaṇḍa or the Gold-race Suvarṇagotra) in chaste Sanskrit. Because international authorities have spelled the name

in various ways we have taken care to give the name as we have quoted it from different sources.

Apart from their political and economic significance, we have tried to trace to their sources the origin of the religious and social ideas at the back of the inscriptions and coins in transition from the symbol of the Eight-spoked-Wheel of Dharma-cakra to the revelation of the astropsychic system of Kāla-cakra which they recognised as the true gospel (saddharma). However, there is no denying that the religious and social situation appears to have become very complex, specially when the tribal pockets of human settlements in Central Asia lost their relative independence as they were sandwiched between the Śakas and the Yüe-chis on the one hand and the Chinese on the other. At this interesting phase of history, the tribes of Central Asia appear to have begun to consolidate themselves into a political unity under the wider social concept of the Kingdom of women and political concept of Bāgā-asā (brother of the king or brother kings) borrowed from the Persians.

The inscription on the coins of Wima (Bhima) Kadphises :

This king appears to be the successor of Kuzula Kadphises and Kadaphes who claimed Kushāṇa origin. We have shown with reference to the coins and inscriptions of Gondopharnes I and Kujula Kadphises how Pallas Athene and Heracles were converging to a symbiosis with the Mother Goddess of the city of Puṣkalavati and Śiva with the cult of Mitram (Indra) as a bridge between them. Judging from the inscription on the overstrikes of Soter Megas and some gold-coins of Wima Kadphises (from representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate XI, No. 5), the Kuṣhāṇas, before the appearance of King Kaṇiṣhka I on the scene, appear to have converted themselves to the revelation of the astro-psychic system of Kāla-cakra under the blessings of the ancient cult of the Great Mother Goddess and Śiva (the Shepherd God Paśupati of Moheñjodaro represented with his phallus). Let us see how far the inscription on the gold coins of Wima Kadphises reflect the transition :

First side

The King emerges from clouds without the usual Macedonian helmet (on some copper-coins we have the king wearing high cap and long coat);

flames rise from his shoulders (for the revelation of the true doctrine "SADDHARMA") : mace or club in right hand and Kāla-pāsa (noose of time or death and not definitely elephant-goad) in the left hand ; hereditary monogram behind the head ; inscription in Greek characters read "Basileos Ooemo Kadphises (on some copper coins we have Ooemo Kadphises Basileus basileon *Soter Megas*).

Second Side

The coin has two-armed Śiva, facing, head to left, with hair in spiral top-knot, and a deer skin over his left arm or shoulder (in order to justify his name of Śiva Kṛttivāsa vis-a-vis the nude Virûpākṣa); grasping combined trident and battle-axe in his right hand (on some copper coins we have two-armed Śiva holding Triśūla and standing and facing a standing Nandi or Bull); Kharoṣṭhî monograms in the exergue both right and left; and the inscription in the Kharoṣṭhî characters read :—" Mahārājasa Rājā-dirājasa sarvaloga-iśvaraśa Bṛma-Kathphisasa. Tratarasa "

From Nepal's religious point-of-view this is an example of how the Yakṣa cult of Iśvaradeva (Śākyavardhana) had become a popular god in the intermediate region and how Wima Kadphises had converted himself or become a " Maheśvara " (follower of the cult of the god of gods) by clothing the nude Hû-ṣa and Virûpākṣa in tiger-skin zābmā (slashed skirt) and Kachāra (loin-cover) in the forms of Umā or Bhavānî and Kṛttivāsa respectively as a development from the more ancient concept of Paśupati as Kapardin. We thus see that the Yakṣa god Iśvaradeva of Kapilavastu becomes the supreme God (Maheśvara) and it is in this form that the phallus of Śiva is erected to commemorate and deliver the dead. The Kings of Nepal assume the title of Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka and Parama-Maheśvara in their inscriptions as a testimony to the transition. The flames rising from the shoulders of Wima Kadphises are calculated to show that he is trying to make the revelation of the Saddharma (the true doctrine). We have adequately described in Chapter VI how the transition to the astropsychic system of Death was expressed by the scriptures of the emission of the rays by the Sambuddha on the eve of delivering his sermon of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sûtra (the white lotus aphorism of the true doctrine). It is remarkable that Nepal preserves the earliest symbols and images of the Great

Mother Goddess and Paśupati in transitional representations from Moheñ-jodāro to Kathmandu. If the Śakyas of Kapilavastu enriched the ancient worship with the Yakṣa cults from the kingdom of women, the Śakas and the Kuṣhāṇas appear to have synthesised the same system with international religious and cultural forces and broadened its base for universal consumption. However, there could be no denying that the revelation of the astro-psychic system of Kāla-cakra follows as a practical sequel to the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph and that the Licchavi kings of Nepal appear to have reciprocated the compliment of the brother Śaka kings by accepting the coin type of the Kuṣhāṇas with the symbols of their ancient religious faith on the obverse and the two-armed Śiva with hair in spiral top-knot and holding a live-deer and Kāla-pāsa (noose of time) as the triumphant symbols of the Yakṣa legend of Virûpākṣa on the reverse. Then, too, the Licchavi kings of Nepal accepted the Śaka-era over the frontons of their inscriptions till King Māna Devaḥ introduced the new religious system of Bhairavi-cakra.

No doubt the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kuṣhāṇas deserve credit for giving an international outlook to the revelations of Kāla-cakra by interpreting and binding it in the system of a Śaka era and Sumeru culture which have become universal in their scope and appeal. If the Milinda-paṇḥo (the discussions between Nāgasena and King Menander) is a scientific exposition of Upāli-paripṛcchā (the queries of Upāli) which led to the schism in the very first Buddhist Synod, we can safely attribute the early translation into Chinese of such works as *Druma-Kinnara-rāja paripṛcchā*, *Ugradatta-paripṛcchā*, *Mahallikā-paripṛcchā*, *Ajātasatrukaukrtyavinodana* and other such questionnaires, to the growing influence of the Yogācāra doctrine of Upāli as a practical sequel to the Yakṣa cults of Sākyavardhana and Virûpākṣa after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. It is remarkable that these Paripṛcchās do not appear in the Pāli-literature. Against such a historical background the hazy Nirvāṇa era assumes a concrete shape with the development of "Saddharma" (true doctrine); and Śiva or Sambuddha are endowed with the symbols of the sun and the moon in order to express their time-nature under the fresh impact of Greek astronomy and astrology.

No doubt these statements appear strange to the modern minds; but the symbols of the Indus-valley civilisation, accompanied by their Yogic

practices and rituals in their Āgamas, the Vedic worship of the gods of the sky with their spells and Adhigamas and the Buddhistic concepts as to the creation of the cosmos and its evolution, all these were certainly blended with the Greek models of beauty and astronomy, so that the old ideas were inspired with new significance that now spread from this intermediate zone in this age of theocracies throughout the then civilised world from Alexandria to China and beyond. It is only today that a comparative study of the Prākṛit inscriptions and the newly discovered Nepalese inscriptions, in which most of the original sources were written and translated, has given the world a real knowledge of the religious development after the death of Śākyamuni. What is most important is the date, the framework of the confessions, the judicial customs and laws which regulate the pious donations and the mental attitude of the donor obtaining in the Kuṣhāṇa inscriptions before the appearance of Kaṇiṣhka on the Indian scene¹⁰¹. According to the interpretation of Simonetta the dates belong to the Pahlava Era and that a number of inscriptions dated with the inscriptions of King Kaṇiṣhka follow the same era. But as the Licchavi Era and the coins of Nepal follow as a religious sequel to the Śaka and the Kuṣhāṇa eras, the evidences of the freshly discovered Nepalese inscriptions in Northern Brāhmī scripts and Sanskrit language are decisive as to the transition from Śākyamuni's system of Dharma-cakra to Kāla-cakra and from Kāla-cakra to Bhairavi-cakra. The essential ideas underlying this transition would have no significance unless this new spirit became a factor in transforming the mind and the will of the men bound in the common origin of Suvarṇagotra and in the bonds of the Sumeru culture with the Saṃvatsaras (Eras) as landmarks in the sands of time.

From ethnic point of view the multifarious Scythian tribes and particularly the Kuṣhāṇas, who ruled over India, appear to have belonged to Balkh, while the Kuchians, who predominated in China with their mighty thoughts, seem to belong to the small principality of Kuchā. It appears to me that the Chinese term Yüeh-chih for the Śakas and the Kuṣhāṇas is not a specific term for the hybrid tribes that were springing up with their faith in Śiva, Viṣṇu or Buddha. Judging from the records of China, the Chinese in the early period of their contacts, did not seem to know much about these " Barbarians from the west " who brought to them the know-

ledge of the Yogic exercises of the "Sûtra in forty-two sections" in the name of the Buddha.

It is most fortunate that the commercial and intellectual importance of the caravanseris of Central Asia continued for many centuries for human contacts from vast and various countries. It was these peoples, who expressed the vague ideas of the Nirvāṇa-era, into a concrete system of dating great transitional ovents in the mathematical scheme of Saṃvatsaras so that men may realise that progress is the law of life, no matter from whatever sphere and station we might make a start. Under the influence of their concept of Gold-race-origin, these tribes do not seem to be inspired by racial or ideological prejudices. We find no injunctions in their inscriptions against Yogic practices, Vedic sacrifices or the Buddhistic concepts of Samyak Saṃbuddha, nor do we find any attempt to command the peoples of different races to follow specific judicial customs and rules laid down by the Vedic Brāhmins or by the Buddhistic schools of Vinaya for their own sectarian interests.

From a comparative study of the Prākṛit inscriptions and literature, we are now in a position to assess the nature of the complex religious situation that seems to be developing in the caravan-cities of Central Asia. After the dispersion of the ancient tribes of the Śākya and the Kolis from Kapilavastu and Rāmagāma described at the outset of this book, they appeared to have carried with them the sacred scriptures of the Haimavata School which appear to have met and clashed along the great silken caravan-routes with international and cultural religious forces and intensified a great interchange of ideas, forms and contaminations. Nevertheless, this peculiar geographical, historical and cultural situation does not appear to have cancelled the religious heritage of the Indus-valley civilisation which was developed through the ages against the background of the Sumeru-culture complex and the landmarks of the Nirvāṇa and Śaka Saṃvatsaras. We have seen how the ancient Yakṣa cults played their part in the transition. In the following chapter it would be useful to see how the renascent ideas reentered India through the backdoor under the aegis of the Śaka and the Kuṣhāṇa kings and produced a double impact upon China, Korea, Japan and the countries of South-east-Asia through the southern seas.

CHAPTER VIII.

The inscriptions and monuments of Kaṇiṣhka :

We have said in previous chapters how the Scythian chiefs of mixed origin were also marrying Assyrian princesses of Semitic origin and how the Śaka tribes of various denominations distinguished themselves by opposing the might of such Aryan Emperors as Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Alexander on the one hand and the Chinese generals on the other. With their Western prepossessions modern writers are prone to write about the rise of the Roman Empire and its laws, the Eras of Christianity and Islam and underrate the contributions of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kuṣhāṇas to the civilisation of mankind, as they have not delved adequately into the Prākritic, Sanskritic, Chinese and Tibetan sources. We have said elsewhere how Puṇḍit Kumāra Jīvaḥ was an offspring of a Brāhmin father and Kuchean mother. According to Chinese tradition Ambassador Ching Lü was instructed in the teachings of Buddhist sūtras by a Yüeh-chih Crown-prince in 2 B.C.; and if the reconstruction of the Wei-lüeh text by Chevannes is correct, the scene is a Yüeh-chih court in Central Asia where the reigning Kuṣhāṇa King ordered his son to reveal the teachings of one or more Buddhist texts to the Chinese Envoy Ching-Lü. We have also discussed the dynasty and the Era founded by King Moga (Maues I) with reference to his coins and inscriptions and in what religious and social context he reoriented the Śaka Era in the wake of the tentative Nirvāṇa Era. After the occupation of Kabul the most important monarch of the Kuṣhāṇas was King Kaṇiṣhka I. (c 78-102 A.D.).

Professor Oldenberg has assumed that King Kaṇiṣhka came to the throne in 78 A.D. which became the signal for the start of the Kuṣhāṇa-era. On the other hand Simonetta has tentatively suggested that the Era of Kaṇiṣhka is a Pahlava Era. According to available inscriptions Kaṇiṣhka's dates range between 1 and 23 years which are identified by historians to coincide with circa 78 to 103 A.D. Although Simonetta takes the Takht-i-bāhî inscription of Gondopharnes as the basis, for his conclusions, the professor's suggestions, that the previous inscriptions are all dated in

the Era of King Menander, seems to be very important from our religious point of view. We have pointed out in previous chapter how the Shinkot-Steatite-casket-Inscriptions dated with the Era of King Menander follows as a sequel to the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph and Nirvāṇa-era with the concept of Sambuddha consequent upon the impact of the Yakṣa-cults of Suvarṇabhūmi. We have also discussed the religious implications of the fourth Buddhist Council convened in Kashmir during the reign of King Kaṇiṣhka and what effect the threetreatises of Aśvaghosa had on China and also how Kumārajīva compiled the lives of Aśvaghosa, Nāgārjuna and their followers. The matter at issue with reference to these Eras is not so much the rise and fall of empires or of the dynastic successions of kings; but what was the occasion and the reason for founding them in lieu of the regnal years of kings with which important events were associated so far. The Prākṛit, the Pāli, the Sanskritic and the Chinese sources seem to agree that there was a vague concept of the Nirvāṇa Era after the Great Passing of Śākyamuni and how the Mahāyānists, Hīnayānists, the Śaivites, the Jainas and the Vaiṣṇavites seem to be interpreting the concept of Dharma (Law) in their own particular way. It is in the inscriptions of the powerful Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa peoples that we find the mention of " Saddharma " (true law or doctrine) and what is of real significance is that the Licchavi Kings of Nepal adopt it in their scheme of Paśupati-*bhaṭṭāraka-Era*.¹⁰⁵

Judging from the range of their religious monuments and inscriptions, the Kuṣhāṇas about 65-78 A.D. appear to have established themselves with their Brother-kings as lords of an empire extending from China to Lake Aral and most of northern and Central India where the area of their defacto sovereignty was by far the larger than that of Aśoka. Judging from his basrelief depicting the nativity of Śākyamuni in Lumbinî and the discovery of his coins in the same region, I have no doubt that King Kaṇiṣhka had visited Kapilavastu and Lumbinî. Some of his famous inscriptions and images dated in the scheme of Śaka-saṃvatsara with Kaṇiṣhka's regnal years down in India and Pakistan and his preference for the esoteric worship of Yakṣa Panchika and Hāritî, mirror his faith in the ancient Yakṣa legends as a factor in the evolution of the ideal of Bodhisattva and Sambuddha. Evidently the lunar dynasty of King Niṃṣa with the cognomen Varman formed

part of the Kushāṇa confederation of Brother-kings (Bāgā-Āsas) so that Kaṇiṣhka seems to have visited the homes of the historical Buddhas as a pilgrim to find the starting point for his Saṃvatsara rather than transplant his religious convictions and impose his rule. Against such a religious background it is impossible to conceive that the basreliefs and the images of Yakṣas, Kichakas, twin Nāgas of Lake Anavatapta, two-handed or four-handed or three headed images of vairocana Śiva or Chhatracanḍeśvara (the Canḍeśvara with a stone parasol) and the images of the Buddha of the future with a parasol or umbrella over his head, were the impositions of the Kuṣhāṇas on Nepal from the wrong end of Mathurā. The chronological order of the sculptures, coins and inscriptions of Kaṇiṣhka in Kapilvastu, Lumbinī, Saranātha and other parts of India dated during the Saṃvatsara of the Śakas in course of the regnal years of Kaṇiṣhka and its follow-up in the Licchavi-inscriptions of Nepal, prove adequately that the transition is concerned with the change in the concept of Dharma (Law). More because the constant contacts between Nāga-sena and King Menander, and of the Śākya and Kauśik teachers with the Indo-Greek, the Śaka and Pahlava rulers show that under the impact of the Yakṣa cults, Śaivism and Buddhism appear to have acquired universal character in these intermediate zones, where King Kaṇiṣhka I became instrumental in disseminating the new knowledge of Saddharma (true law) among the masses of *mankind*.¹⁰⁶

If Aśoka tried to popularise the Aryan-Eight-Fold-Paths of Śākyamuni coloured and limited by his beliefs in the Brāhmanic law of Karma, Heaven and Hell, the Kurram-Copper-Casket Inscription dated Śaka Saṃvatsara 21 (=A.D. 99 ?) seems to be unique for its quotation of the well-known "Pratītyasamutpāda" formula of Milindapañho in the context of the concept of Saṃbuddha which seems to have a clear connection with the psychological Yakṣa-cults of Sensory perception. Konow translates the formula as follows : " In interconnection with delusion the Saṃskāras (associated with the burial of Śākyamuni's mortal relics in a stūpa); with the Saṃskāras consciousness (of the eternal existence of the concept of Samyak Saṃbuddha); with consciousness name and form; with name and form the six organs (of perception); with the six organs touch; with touch sensations; with sensation thirst; with thirst grasping; with grasping life; with life birth; with birth decay, death, lamentation, suffering, dejection,

dispair. ” It is remarkable that the impact of the Yakṣa-cults of perception had led also to the famous Buddhist confessio-fidei of cause and effect described in our note (41). Here this formula seems to have formed part of the basic text of the School of Sarvāstivāda while the Bhagavadgītā (the Celestial song) in its dilemma appears to have taken the same formula as its starting point for its deliberations on the Vedic Revelations vis-a-vis Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy. The widespread scepticism resulting from the Messianic confidence in the achievements of the Assyrian and Greek astronomy and Yogic practices had reduced many revelations to the level of mere system of ethics, so that man’s uneasy introspection, retrospection and propection led back to the quest of the essential character of the astropsychic system of Death amid such a variety of peoples from India, Africa, Europe and China. While astronomy vastly expanded man’s spatial horizon, it was equally realised that the survey of the astrophysical world did not lead to the goal of discovering the ULTIMATE BEST in human nature connected with the problems of his faith, sincerity and honesty to himself and in his practical relations with other human beings by conquering his Ego. Though no astronaut encountered God from his rendezvous in space and automatic interplanetary stations, yet nobody has been able to outwit death. It is remarkable that the Śakas and the Kuṣhāṇas had appreciated the astropsychic system of Kāla-cakra as being the correct probe into the dimension in depth of the mystery of the human mind and measure human progress by founding the Śaka-era which could find its echo in the country of every man’s heart for the deliverance of the common people in the names of Śiva or *Sambuddha*.¹⁰⁷

Seeing how men could believe in every myth or lie, an aberration of the misunderstood love of truth has been the cause of sorrowful crusades, religious and social wars and unhappy revolutions. In the name of truth sectarians have tried to impose their convictions with absolute claim of correctness on the credulity of other men, forgetting a fact no less fundamental than the so-called love of truth,—that life, though short, was real, worthwhile and earnest for everybody and that he could possess and make it purposeful by daring to accept death as a companion in the spiritual scheme of Iśvaradeva or Sambuddha. Thus we see that the real drive and purpose of the astropsychic system of Death was to produce a casteless,

colourless and classless society from its lowest strata of men who had a happy family without the taint of heraldic complex, who had an unconquerable will without the Ego, who were totally fearless in the face of death, who were absolutely free from credal, theological and ideological beliefs and who were not afraid of being in the minority against the "spurns of time and man's contumely." The funeral tradition and the confessio-fides of the inscription under review bears ample testimony to the transformation. Distrustful of the promise of Heaven or the torments of hell hereafter, the formula does not accept the Vedic treadmill of reincarnations as in the case of the inscriptions of Aśoka or of the Indian kings. The Kushāṇas do not prescribe cut and dried regulations of dress, abstinences and rituals, and there is also no unanimity as to the religious observances during the four rainy months of retirement for the Bhikṣus (monks), Bhikṣunīs (nuns), Upāsakas and Upāsikās (lay followers). The sum of the Śaka millennia was the promise of universal salvation for the unanointed with the full realisation that the demands of nature are more compelling than the holy water of the sectarians.

The inscriptions on some gold coins of Kaṇiṣhka I from representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate XI, No. 9 :

We have seen how the Persian Fire-god Athsho (=Atash), the moon-god Mao, the sun-god Mihira, the Mother-goddess Nāna, the Himālayan god Oesho (Śiva), the Greek god Heracles, the Wind-god Vādo (=Vāta), the war-god Orlagno (Vṛtaghna or Bahram) etc. were converging to a symbiosis in the coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas. The coins of Kaṇiṣhka follow the same model with the inscription in modified Greek script and old Persian language reading "Kaṇiṣhka, the Kuṣhāṇa, King" while the bearded king, wearing peaked cap, coat, cloak and trousers as represented in the Greek Electrum vase, stands to left with flames rising from his shoulders as if he was now ready to make the revelation of the astro-psychic theory of Kāla-cakra. He holds the Kāla-pāsa (the noose of time and not definitely elephant goad) over an altar and a spear in his right and left hands respectively and wears a sword at his waist.

The second side shows the standing figure of a four-armed Śiva holding in upper right hand a Damaru (hand-drum), Kāla-pāsa (noose of time) in

lower right hand, a Triśūla (trident) in the upper left-hand and the lower left hand on hip. The most significant feature of the coin is the representation of the antelope (deer or gazelle) on its hind legs which shows that the legend depicted is borrowed from the story of Virûpākṣa's pursuit of the deer in the forest of Śleṣhmāntaka. The inscriptions in Greek characters read " Oesho " (Śiva or Bhavēśa). It is remarkable that the superscriptions on these coins are borrowed from the psychological cult of Paśupati (Conqueror of the Gazelle with its longings for the good things of life and of the guilty memory of Oedipus complex) as King Kaṇiṣhka understood and appreciated the revelation of the astropsychic system of Kāla-cakra. Nepal has a large number of ancient images and basreliefs and also some images with the leonine figures of the sun overhead or over the crown of Virûpākṣa to show how the cult of the Light Deities was assimilated in the scheme of Śiva-ravilocana to make this popular God the starting point of the Saṃvatsaras from his abode of Kailāsa believed to be situated over the summit of Sumeru.

Out of the conflict in the minds of mixed tribes of the Āśvakāyana (horse-riders), the fire ordeal of the Persians as well as the cruelties of the refined Greek minds was smothered into an open community where there was no Inquisition to protect the faith and morals of the Askenois and the Yüe-chih against whom Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Alexander and the Chinese generals fought their war of attrition without avail. On the authority of the Annals of China we have pointed out how the Kuṣhāṇas were one of the branches of the Yüe-chih and in what form the Kuchean Masters broadcast the ideas of the THREE TREATISES of the Fourth-Buddhist-Council of Kaṇiṣhka among the peoples of China. A great patron of Mahayāna Buddhism Kaṇiṣhka appears to have realised, amid the medley of beliefs of the peoples of his vast empire, that the partisans of special social and religious interests were skilled in the advocacy of the particular branch of knowledge they claimed to represent and that they tended to be dogmatic, feudalistic and fanatical in their approach and outlook to the neglect of the real quest for truth. He, therefore, took care that the symbols on his coins, caskets and inscriptions were selected with such meticulous care as to appeal to the spiritual impulses of the masses of mankind in the names of the Great Mother Goddess Nāna, Āmā or Hārīti or the Aryan Earth-god-

dess Anahitā and of Śiva, Skandha, Buddha, Heracles or the Sun-god Suna, Anio or Mihira-mitra. Out of this never-ceasing evolution of religious progress, the image of Paśupati, standing, a trident in hand, in front of a deer or bull, sometimes two-armed like the shepherd god described in the ancient text of Aṅgavijjā, sometimes four-armed as Saṃvatsara or as Ravi-locana and sometimes three-headed as Vairocana to herald the approaching Millennia, appears with his consort of Moheñjodaro to have provided the basis for universal contact and concord. The majority of the Śaka coins represent, on the obverse, the head, bust or the figure of the reigning monarch, standing or sitting with crossed legs on his throne, in thickly-padded Tibetan style riding boots, wide-sagging trousers, a long stiff top-coat, with a pointed Scythian cap or mitre over his head and holding a sceptre or armed with a long spear, mace or bow. A halo surrounds his head and flames issue from his shoulders to show that he is on the point of making a revelation of Saddharma (true law) based upon the symbiosis of the medley of the above-said gods and goddesses with the cults of Iranian and Greek Light-deities on the reverse.

Already during the reign of King Menander the construction of the stûpas with the "Sarira" (mortal relics) of Śākyamuni and monasteries of Haimavata schools of Buddhism appear to have begun. Under the patronage of the Kuṣhāṇa Kings and the financial support of the wealthy merchants, the stûpas and monasteries appear to have multiplied over the hill sides of Peshawar and the valleys of Swat, Kabul, Baluchistan and beyond the Hindukush to Bactria (Balkh) and Bokhara. The early stûpas of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas still resemble the stûpas of Nepal. We find the influence of Hellenistic mausolea with the Kuṣhāṇas till such time as Kanishka raised a 638 feet high stûpa, with a richly carved wooden harmikā of thirteen storeys topped by an iron mast of 400 feet which struck the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang with awe and wonder. More inspiring than the size and the height of the stûpa is the funeral tradition and the representations of the Bodhisattvas Candraprabha (the Light of the Moon) and Sûrya-prabha (the Light of the Sun) over the famous casket of Kanishka, which prove conclusively that the cult of Vairocana had become a factor in Mahāyānic Buddhism. We have already pointed out how Śiva-ravailocana or Vairocana plays an important role in the concept

of Śiva as Saṃvatsara (Master of the planets namely GRAHAPATI meaning the Lord of the planets). The assimilation of the Iranian and Greek Light deities to express the time nature of Śiva is a remarkable feature of the Yogācāra doctrine, Tantrayāna (the path of the Tantras) and their physical and mental discipline. This new concept of Time as the limitations of Śiva-ravilocana or Vairocana leads to the most startling researches in the field of human psychology with the Siddhas (Perfect ones).

The greatness and popularity of Kaṇiṣhka I appear to have consisted in his ability to address himself to the multiple races of his gigantic empire with the conviction of the Saddharma (True Law or doctrine) which appears to have filled the intellectual and religious vacuum and bridged the chasm that had opened up to divide men and nations. It is remarkable that he could hold the attention of his peoples with the convening of the Fourth Buddhist Council under the common bond of the Three Treatises which appear to have sparkled and kindled the greatest of thoughts among mankind. The victories of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Alexander lose their significance, when we compare it with Kaṇiṣhka's quest for the ultimate best in human behaviour. With the fourth Buddhist synod of Kaṇiṣhka, the concept of Saddharma (true law) vis-a-vis Aśoka's concept of Dharma (Law) assumes a new significance under the impact of the Yakṣa-cults. The very contents of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph are transformed into the concept of Saṃbuddha.

King Kaṇiṣhka appears to have stood astride the Chinese and the Indian worlds like a Collosus. The social and religious philosophy that were shaping with the Indo-Greek, the Śaka and the Pahlava Kings, appears to have concretised in Kaṇiṣhka's era in 78 A.D. which rekindled the torch of Yogācāra doctrines with their universal scope and appeal.

Kings Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka, Kaṇiṣhka II and Vāsudeva I :

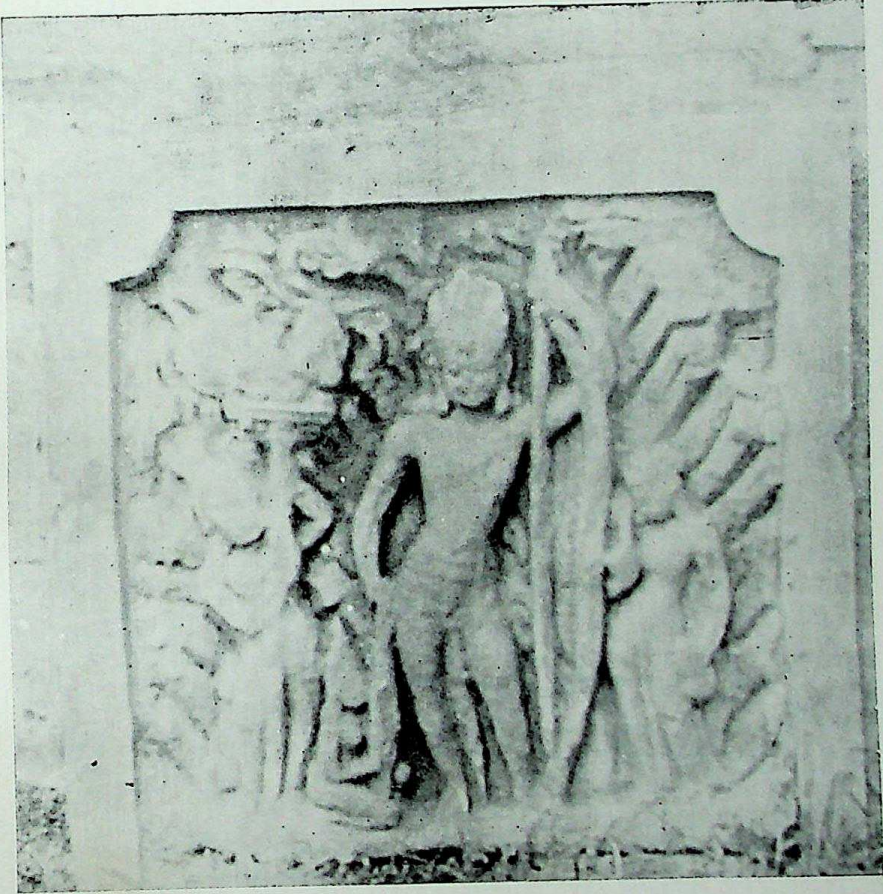
We have extensively quoted Professor Simonetta in Chapter VII and adequately discussed the political, economic, social and religious implications of the Indo-Greek, Śaka and Pahlava eras with reference to the era of Kaṇiṣhka I, and also how and in what context his successors used them. Historians seem to be divided in their opinion whether Vāsiṣka (Vājjiṣka, Vāṣuska or Juṣhka), Huviṣka (Huṣhka) and Kaṇiṣhka II were contem-

poraries or if Kaṇiṣhka II ever existed. According to the doubtful evidences of the Ārā (near Attock in the Punjab) stone inscription attributed to Kaṇiṣhka II, Indian tradition makes him the contemporary of the famous Mādhyamaka teacher Nāgārjuna of Kashmir. Very much unlike the titles assumed by Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, Kaṇiṣhka II in this inscription assumes the Roman title of Kaiser (Caesar) side by side with the titles borrowed from the Persians and the Indo-Greeks. The dictum of donation in this chart shows his unhealthy belief in the Brāhmanic concept of reincarnation in contravention to Vāsiṣka's chart dedicated to Sāñchî Buddhist image under the sanction of the Buddhistic dictum of " Deya-dharma " for making voluntary gifts. On the other hand, the Māthurā-Stone-Inscription of Huviṣka is important for the adaptation of the Yakṣan style of permanent endowment known as Akṣyayanîvi for the use of the Brāhmins of the city of Mathurā in the United Provinces of India. This kind of permanent endowment was a legacy of the economic organisation of the Yakṣas, out of which the beneficiaries could make use of the interest without interfering with the capital. Among the Janapadas (Republican states) of the Buddhist Himālayas, the banking and the trading organisation known as the Sreṇis composed mainly of the Vaiśyas, took care of financial matters and commerce. When they knew about the use of money, they introduced the punch-marked coins known as the Paṇas and Purāṇas with weights and measures to replace the ancient system of barter. This clearly was a great advance upon the ancient systems of barter as long as men were not greedy. However, a comparative study of the inscriptions of the above said kings show that they were subject to diverse political, social and religious influences with the result that the original drive and power of the concept of Sadharma (true law) seems to have lost its fire. The Mathurā image inscription of King Vāsudeva shows that he completely identified himself, as his name testifies, to the worship of Vāsudeva associated with the Brāhmanic cult of the holy Bhāgavata and also adopted Manusamhitā indited by their patriarch Manu as the basis for their laws.¹⁰⁸

The coins of King Huviṣka :

The inscriptions on the gold coins of Huviṣka make some departure from the representation of the old pantheon of the Indo-Greek, Śaka and

Plate No. XV



This is a typical basrelief of Śiva-Tripurāntaka resting on his Pināka-bow as long as himself with strings inwards. Bhāravi in his immortal Kirātārjunīya describes this deity as the Lord of the Gaṇas (Himālayan tribes)

Pahlava gods and their symbols. The new favourite is the four-armed Vedic god Viṣṇu (Ooshna). On a few specimen we have on the reverse the word “ Gaṇeśa ” in Brāhmī scripts, but the god represented under the title is Śiva-Tripurāntaka and not his elephant-headed son Gaṇeśa of the later Hindu mythology. We are reproducing in Plate Number XV the basrelief of Śiva-Tripurāntaka resting on his Pināka-bow as long as himself with strings inwards. According to an old Himālayan myth told in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Āgamas, the Asuras (Assyrians) defied the gods from their three impregnable fortresses built by the Asura architect, Maya. The Aryan Earth goddess felt oppressed because these Asuras did not perform Vedic sacrifices, and She appealed to the Vedic gods Indra and Brahmā who were badly defeated by the Asuras. Then the Vedic gods approached the Himālayan god Śiva in his abode of Kailāsa, who attacked the demons in his chariot driven by Brahmā while Viṣṇu, Yama (the god of death), Soma (the moon) and Agni (Fire) gave their power to the arrow which alone could overcome the Three Fortresses. Our basrelief depicts the legend of Śiva-Tripurāntaka's victory over Tripurāsura, after which he is leaning on his bow Pināka. The Vedic god Indra stands before Śiva-Tripurāntaka with a plate containing articles of “ Kārṇapūjā ” while Bhavānī (the consort of Bhava or Śiva and the counterpart in the Himālayan mythology of the Great Mother Goddess) fans her Lord with a fly-whisk in order to cool him down and banish his fatigue. The Indo-Aryan Earth-Goddess kneels down in supplication to Śiva-Tripurāntaka for the great victory he has achieved over the Asuras (demons). In Nepalese sculptures and Licchavi inscriptions Śiva-Tripurāntaka or Gaṇeśa is the Lord of the Himālayan tribes who are known as the “ Gaṇas.” It is now evident that the early Mālava peoples borrowed the concept of Gaṇarājyas (Peoples Republics) from these Himālayan Gaṇas. The Licchavi king Gaṇa Devaḥ of Nepal derived his name from his devotion to Śiva-Tripurāntaka as the Lord of the Gaṇas and his consort Bhavānī. I have not discovered so far any inscription or literature with an invocation to the elephant-headed son of Śiva and Pārvatī as Gaṇeśa before the 7th century A.D., though the Jātakas (Birth-stories) mention Māyā's dream of a white elephant before the birth of Śākyamuni. On the other hand, the epic of Rāmāyaṇa makes the breaking of Śiva-Tripurāntaka's bow Pināka by the

Suitors as the condition for winning the hands of Princess Sitā and her sisters in *Mithilā*.¹⁰⁹

Other significant changes on the obverse and reverse of Huviṣka's coins are the war god under various names like Maaseno (Mahāsena), Kārttikeya, Skando (Skanda), Komāro (Kumāra) and Bizago (Viśākha) holding a Śikhin-standard surmounted by a Garuḍa with a crest. Evidently the Assyrians were responsible for popularising the symmetrical groups of mythical animals like the human-headed lion or sphinx, griffons and human headed bulls which are to be found among the early sculptures of Nepal. The tradition of the second historical Buddha as a Śikhin Buddha and the use of Śikhin or the human headed Garuḍa as the mount of Viṣṇu in the temples of Śikhin-Nārāyaṇa and Gāngu-Nārāyaṇa seems to be the contributions of the Babylonian civilisation to the Indus valley. With the success of the Vedic Aryans and the spread of their Vaiṣṇavite cult, the Lion bird griffon appears to have been conceived as the mount of Viṣṇu in the form of man-bird Vainateya. But the Śikhin represented on the standard of Huvishka is a bird with a crest which may be Himālayan pheasants like Dāphen or Monāl or a peacock according to the knowledge of the peoples concerned. It is difficult to say how much of the representation is Assyrian or Himālayan or Indian or a combination of all the ancient ideas. In any case, the transition of the Fish-tail banner of King Suddhodhana with the imprint of the sun and moon to the Śikhin standard adopted by these kings and continued by the Vaiṣṇavite Gupta kings of India seems to be significant of the growing influence of the Bhāgavata-dharma. The other gods on the reverse represent the old syncretism, though the king on the obverse is represented with flames rising from his shoulders to show that he is on the point of making the revelation of his basic faith.

With the last quarter of the second century and the beginning of the third century, the Kuṣhāṇas appear to have lost much of the Punjab, United Provinces and other parts of Pakistan and India to such local dynasties as the Nāgas, Sātakarni, Nāhapāna, Ushavadāta and their like. All these petty kings tend to assume the titles of Rājan, Svāmin and Satraps in place of the title of "Brother Kings" to show that they are now independent of the confederation of the Kuṣhāṇas. Evidently, the peak of the power of the Kuṣhāṇas had passed by the time of the Greek geographer Ptolomey

(circa 140 A.D.). According to the Indian records Ptolomey was the contemporary of the newly independent kings Pulamvi and Chastana who was the grandfather of King Rudradāman. The evidences of the Greek geographers as well as the inscriptions of the Śaka and the Kuṣhāṇa kings agree that the great society founded by them on the basis of Saddharma (true law for mankind) had ceased to exist; and India was divided into the following feudatories with local loyalties :—

(1) Ākāravanti comprised by the district of Mālwa which was the home of the Mālava tribes; (2) Ākāra (East Malwa) with its capital of Vidisā (Bhilsā) comprised by the Indian state of Bhopal which is also famous for its historical monuments of Sāñchi; (3) Āvanti in West Mālwa with its capital of Ujjayinî comprised by the state of Indore; (4) Anupa with its capital of Mahimatî comprised probably by modern Maheśvara or Māndhātā in the district of Nimar; (5) Ānarta with its capital of Dvārakā on the Western-ghats (Arabian sea) in what is north Kāthiāwār today; (6) Saurāstra on the banks of the Arabian sea with its capital of Girnar famous for its pillar of Aśoka in South Kāthiāwār and also for its celebrated Śaivite temple of Somnāth; (7) Svabhra comprised probably by its capital of Sabarmati where Mahātmā Gandhi established his headquarters for his fight against British colonial rule; (8) Maru comprised by Mārwar in the Indian state of Bikaner in the desert district of Rājputānā (Rājasthan); (9) Kaccha with its capital of Bharukaccha (Broach) on the isthmus of the Arabian sea in Western Ghats; (10) Sindhu comprised within the district of Sind watered by the river Sindhu (Indus) in Western Pakistan where the remains of the most ancient cults of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati have been discovered; (11) Sauvira situated somewhere to the east of the lower Sindhu (Indus) river; (12) Kakura situated between Sauvira and Ānarta comprised by what is north Kāthiāwār today; (13) Āparānta with its capital of Sophārā or Surpāraka situated on the banks of the Western-ghats comprised by the district of north-Konkan in what is today the Bombay Presidency of India. It is remarkable that a branch of the ancient tribes of the Ābhīras (Āvārs) appear to have occupied this stretch of country after the decline of the Kuṣhāṇas; and (14) Nishāda extending (according to the epic of Mahābhārata III, 130, 3-4 and XII, 135, 3-5) from Vinasana to Pariyatra comprised by what is today the west

Vindhya mountains and Aravelly. Most of these maritime states appear to have given an immense stimulus to international trade and commerce.

Social and economic conditions in these states after the Kuṣhāṇas :

The history of north-Africa and Europe during this period was punctuated by the rise of yet another world religion of Christianity under the leadership of Lord Jesus and his Mother Mary about five hundred year after Śākyamuni. If some of the Kuṣhāṇas were tempted by the pompous title of Kaiser (caesar) and their system of coinage, Jesus was bringing about a revolution in the thinking of the Pharisees by advising them to "Render unto Ceasar the thing that are Caesar's and to God the thing that are God's". We have seen how the Śaka kings had introduced the Śaka Era and how the Kuṣhāṇas had tried to reform the cash and credit system of the West by making their money visible, so that it may represent real values in terms of lands and goods. The patchwork quilt of states that had arisen, after the downfall of the empire of the Kuṣhāṇas, seem to be inspired by local and feudal loyalties and lost the fire and drive of the concept of "Saddharma" (true law). And if the social and economic order of the Roman empire could not survive the great fluidity of property that the system of money had brought among them, the exactions of the priestly order and kings under the sanctions of the laws of Manu made the poor poorer and the rich monks, priests and aristocrats richer with the abuse of the system of Akṣayanīvika. The leaders and priests had learnt the international significance of the dangerous but efficient system of Roman coinage. Individual of different castes and Śudra debtors had to pay 24%, 36%, 48%, and 60% interests per annum respectively. The endless wars among the newly independent local governors and rulers and the increasing economic prosperity had given rise to a class of rich men who became creditors to the rulers and officials of the Indian aristocracy created under the discriminatory laws of Manu. The immensely rich international traders on account of their growing contact with the Roman traders had the power to call up money without handling and administering any real wealth. Money became abstract on account of its fluidity and lost touch with the real values it was supposed to represent. The evils of the monetary systems of Carthage and Rome had travelled to these maritime states of India faster than the

inimitable words of the Prince of Poverty to the effect that "It is easier for the camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of *God*."**110. It did not now matter to these moneyed international traders who charged what interest and in what manner from the common peoples, or who won or lost the local wars or even who was sinned against rather than sinning provided the currency of their individual country gave them a favourable balance in the business context of the almighty Roman Dinar. As a result the coalescences of the democratic states of the Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa confederations of "Brother kings" seem to have broken down slowly under the impact of this new moneyed aristocracy who justified their artificial prosperity on the base of international wealth, power, luxurious refinement and ritualistic splendour. This aristocracy needed a common lingua-franca, and Sanskrit served the purpose. During the interim period between the downfall of the liberal Mauryas and the rise of the reactionary Guptas, the Kauśik poets and writers had perfected the national epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata which exerted a great influence upon the masses of Indian peoples. Wealthier and healthier, if not wiser, than their Śaivite and Buddhistic predecessors, the newly rich aristocracy was able to impart a vigorous stamp to the popular legends and idioms of the Hindu epics and adapt the cults of the Yakṣas and the Yakṣīs to the orgies of Bacchanal worship to the rejection of the Yogic content interwoven with the texture of human minds. The cult of the Great Mother Goddess, which at this period found synthesis with the worship of mother Mary in the guise of Isis in the Eastern Roman Empire of Constantinople, appears in these states of degenerated India to have found vent in the popular entertainment of the Gaṇikās (courtesans) and degraded into sexual excesses. These rich and elegant descendants of the ancient Yakṣīs were now living in beautifully furnished houses and were tempted into extravagant indulgences unlike their poor ancestresses who followed their serene impulses of love to give birth to the Gold-race peoples. Because of their accomplishments as singers, dancers and actresses the Gaṇikās were accepted by the international traders and by the satraps and rulers, and they absorbed the aristocratic culture. From a great number of sculptures and basreliefs of the period, we are in a position to distil the background of these newly rich men and women who were now tending to

become monsters of self-indulgence rather than Mothers Māyā and Mary to deliver *mankind*.^{*111}.

From a comparative study of the literary languages of India and Central Asia during the third and fourth centuries A.D. we find that the Kauśik priests and bards had conserved the Vedic language and transformed it into a powerful vehicle as much to explain Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣadas as the great store of Mahāyānist literature. It is remarkable that the Kauśiks and the Kāśyaps had popularised this Indo-Aryan language of Sanskrit among the Śakas and the Kuṣhāṇas, so that it became the medium of cultured communication specially among the foreigners of Aryan origin who visited and inhabited the maritime capitals of the Mahākṣetrapas (the great governors). Whoever wanted to be a member of this new society had to absorb its own singularity of refinement of manners, art-interests, styles and Smṛti laws based upon Manusmṛti and upon the culture of the epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata which were similar to the story underlying the Illiad.

We still wonder what impact Lord Jesus's preachings would have had on such an imaginative king as Kaṇiṣhka I, but the lesser kings, who followed in his footsteps, seem to be carried away by the evils of Roman civilisation with no real passion for truth. In order to make this movement intelligible to the Indian peoples, all the holy places of ablutions (Tīrthas) and pilgrimages for the faithfuls of the Brāhmanic religion and culture were located in Western parts of India to the neglect of Kapilavastu, Lumbinī and the other centres of the Śaivite and the Buddhist States at the foot of the Himālayas. The inscriptions of King Nahapāna, Chaṣṭana and Rudradāman try to popularise many strange beliefs contained in the Brāhmanic epic of Mahābhārata and the legends of Viṣṇusamhitā, Kurma-purāṇa and Padmapurāṇa to the effect that the Brāhmanic priests held a passport to Viṣṇu's Baikunṭha (Heaven) and that services and material endowments as well as the gift of an accomplished Gaṇikā or a beautiful girl to the Mahārāṣṭrian Brāhmins in such tīrthas (holy places of ablutions) would bring infinite happiness to the donors on this side of the grave and also earn a meritorious place for him in heaven after they were dead. Then, too, we find the misuse of a number of old taxes (such as "Śulka-tara", Tara-śulka, Puṇya-tara and Aśulka-tara realisable from the common people in order to provide free-food and lodging for the wandering physicians

known as Carakas in Āvasthas during the reign of Śaka kings) for the benefit of the idle Brāhmins who did not grow food for *themselves*.^{*112}.

The inscriptions of King Rudradāman :

The edicts and coins of Chastana and Rudradāman tend to show that these Satraps had recovered much of the territory of Western India that King Nahapāna had lost to King Sātakarṇi. The daily life of the people during their regnal years appears to have degenerated physically, morally and intellectually. If the meaning of "Dharma" is preparation for a good life and fearlessness in the face of death, a few Buddhistic inscriptions stood as lone reminders of the tradition of the Kauśikî and the Gaṇḍakî civilisations. The impact of the Roman civilisation of wealth and power on the maritime states of western India beneath its political fragmentation, appears to have brought about a social disorder where the common people were made to forget their past and taught to act to the tune of the laws of Manu with the promise of heaven and fear of hell. They forgot the Śaivite and Buddhistic concept of Dharma to the effect that the gist of life does not lie in being strangers to famine, plague, want, or in the blissful state of delusions, but in facing life like a man and staring death in the face. The Brāhmanic idea of horse-sacrifices and rituals had presented a spectacle of outward splendour and luxurious refinement through the media of Sanskrit culture, but beneath that pomp of wealth and power there was corrosive cruelty of mind, stupidity of the selfish leaders and priests who did not see anything beyond their noses, and the stagnation of the masses of peoples who were just about beginning to understand the significance of "Saddharma" (true law). According to the "Decline and fall of the Roman Empire" by Gibbon "The most remote countries of the ancient world were ransacked to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome. The forests of Scythia afforded some valuable furs. Amber was brought overland from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube, and the barbarians were astonished at the price which they received in exchange for so useless a commodity. There was a considerable demand for Babylonian carpets and other manufactures of the East; *but the most important branch of foreign trade was carried on with Arabia and India.* Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of 120 vassals sailed from Myos-hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the

periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about 40 days. The coast of Mālābār or the island of Ceylon, was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expected their arrival. The return of the fleet to Egypt was fixed to the months of December or January, and as soon as their rich cargoes had been transported, on the backs of camels, from the Red Sea to the Nile, and had descended that river as far as Alexandria, it was poured, without delay, into the capital of the empire." Then, too, there were Roman ware-houses in Mālābār coast, where there was a temple to the God Emperor Augustus Caesar. "Under the Roman Empire", Gibbon continues "the labour of an industrious and ingenious people was variously but incessantly employed in the service of the rich. In their dress, their table, their houses, and their furniture, the favourites of fortune united every refinement of convenience, of elegance, and of splendour, whatever could soothe their pride, or gratify their sensuality. Such refinement under the odious name of luxury, have been severely arraigned by the moralists of every age; and it might perhaps be more conducive to the virtue, as well as happiness of mankind, if all possessed necessities, and none the superfluities of life." During these centuries of stagnation, there were no nomadic invasions either on Italy or on India to remind them that the free men of the mountains and the steppes were much more devoted to the quest of truth than these favourites of fortune who believed that the Śaka Saṃvatsara was an era of the Slaves and that Christianity was a "slave religion", and that wise and scientific men as well as fighters could be bought and bargained for in the slave markets when they were needed. The art and science of the isles of Greece as well as the spiritual impulses that had stemmed from the Gaṇḍakī river valleys of Suvarṇabhūmī seem to be forgotten except for a few limp pillar inscriptions by unknown Buddhist Sramāṇas to commemorate the dead. On the other hand, we have described in previous chapters how the Chinese developed a historical and critical literature out of the contributions of the nomadic peoples from the plains of Tartary with the Śakas and the Kuṣhānas.¹¹³

Neither Rome nor these maritime states of India seem to have progressed in any useful fields during these three centuries of economic prosperity. With the growing apathy of the Indian population to political

events under the grinding systems of debt, with the restraints imposed by the laws of Manu on men and women alike and with the rise of Mithraism vis-a-vis Brāhmanism, the Junagarh rock Inscription of Rudradāman I deserves credit for its attempt to regulate the relations among these petty maritime states on the historical basis provided by the administration of the liberal Mauryan kings as far as the period of the Yaudheyas. There is an attempt to define the nature and the category of general and other taxes (e.g. *Vistī*=forced and free labour; *Praṇaya* and *Pritidāna*=benevolent or emergency taxes). There is also an attempt to specify job descriptions of the *Mahākṣetrapa* (the great Satrap or Governor), *Mati-saciva* or *Dhi-saciva* (Counsellor), *Kṣetrapa* (Satrap or Governor), *Karma-saciva* (executive officer) and *Amātya* who concerned himself with manifold functions of the state. But we find no mention of the Judges and no job-description of the judicial functionaries of the State except in the solitary instance of Śreedhara Varman's *Kānākherā* stone Inscription, near *Sāñchī* dated Śaka Year 201 (=279 A.D.) which mentions *Mahādandanāyaka* (great police chief) who associated with himself the functions of a judge. Very much like the contemporary records of Rome and China these inscriptions do not distinguish between the *Pahlavas* (Persians), *Parthians* and the other nomadic Śakas who drifted to and fro in a great area between India, Europe and China from their homes of Central Asia. Unlike the Roman and the Chinese Emperors, who built great walls to protect their empires from the incursions of the *Huṇa* or *Hiung-nu* barbarians, whom they identified with the *Scythians* and the *Yüe-chih*, these *Kuṣhāṇa* feudatories do not seem to make any distinction between the *Indo-Greeks*, Śakas, *Pahlavas*, *Pāradas* and the *Huṇas* of mixed origin and treat them as foreigners. Unacquainted with the inscriptions of the *Indo-Greek*, the Śakas and the *Pahlavas*, western writers have been prone to use the words " *Suvarṇa-gotra* peoples " as *Yue-chih*, *Scythian* or *Huṇa* (*Huns*) or the *Ābhīras* (*Āvars*) as a sort of general term for these mixed tribes who lived and flourished between the *Himalayas*, the *Kuen Lun*, the *Tien Shan* and the *Altai* mountains where the *Semites*, *Aryans* and *Mongolians* intermarried, interbred and evolved a theocracy. It is only in the inscriptions of the reactionary Roman Emperors and Gupta kings of India that the " *Yavanas* " Śakas, *Khasas*, *Pahlavas*, *Pāradas*, *Ābhīras* and *Huṇas* are being treated as enemies of the Roman

Empire of slaves or of Manu's Āryāvarta and condemned them as outcastes.

With the inscriptions on the coins of Rudrasimha III dated Śaka year 310 (= 388 A.D.) the Greek characters cease to have any meaning, and there is a return to the symbol of three arches of Śrāvastī. Such accounts, as we have about the Huṇas from Kālidāsa or the Chinese and the Roman writers, were written in periods of panic with a flare for self-justification in their own narrow national interests. But if we analyse the history of the Huṇas (Huns) and the Ābhīras (Āvars), whether in Europe or Asia, it was these peoples who assimilated different cultural forces, fought for what they believed to be right and intermarried with the peoples they invaded. Their nomadic life was more highly developed than that of the Roman, the Indian and the Chinese kings. It was these peoples who introduced the use of horses and the chariots to the ancient world. They were frank, hospitable and free from religious fanaticism or racial prejudices under the inspiration of Gold-race origin. Their nomadic life encouraged their faith in the Shepherd god of Sumeru, Sambuddha and Saddharma in the scheme of Śaka millennia which stood in the way of caste and class inequalities or colour prejudices in their society. Historians of all climes have found it difficult to classify the Huṇas, Ābhīras and Hiung-nu, because these newly emerging tribes from ancient roots, took little care to keep themselves distinct from other peoples. Forerunners of the Gorkhas, the Huṇas first appear as the auxiliary troops under Stilicho and by the middle of the fourth century A.D. they erupted upon the decadent Europe and Asia as the soldiers of God to carry out social revolution started by the European and Asiatic peoples under the mask of a superficial foreign conquest. Attila was the greatest leader of these Huns, whose empire stretched from the river Rhine of Europe into Central Asia and who negotiated on equal terms with the Roman and the Chinese Emperors. Gibbon mentions the love letter of Princess Honoria with her ring to Attila calling upon him to deliver her after the invasion of Constantinople and become her husband. Gibbon has quoted Priscus as to the nature of the ever-moving court of Attila in Europe where he lived in nomadic simplicity¹¹⁴. Near about the time when Vijayaśvāminī courted King Māna Devaḥ to deliver her from the tyranny of her weak husband, the chi-

valry of these leaders of men seems to be inspired by similar motives. After the death of Attila in 453 A.D., the Huṇas dissolved into the surrounding populations because they had much in common with the local peoples according to the tradition of Suvarṇagotra. About a century after the death of Attila another mixed tribes of Hunnish origin known as the *Āvars* (*Ābhīras*) appear upon the European scene again from the East. Ever since the time of Śākyamuni and Virūdhaka, the Himālayan peoples have evolved the Suvarṇagotra principles for the possible social and political unity of the human race. All the Śaka, Kuṣhāṇa, Huṇa and Ābhīra Kings, who raided through the sinful but vast empires of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Alexander, Caesar and their like, were capable of conceiving of some mighty king of kings in Śiva, Śākyamuni or Jesus who were far greater than themselves and who could give Saddharma (true law) for all mankind. Far above their own titles, which, however, they borrowed from the Persians, the Indo-Greeks and the Romans, they esteemed the Revelations of the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra and were ready to believe with flames rising from their shoulders, that elsewhere over the summit of Sumeru and its surrounding countries of Suvarṇabhūmi there was Śiva or Sambuddha who could deliver the human race. It was in this faith that these mixed races founded the Śaka eras so that the mental and intellectual progress of mankind may be calculable in space and time.

The rise of the Ābhīras (Āvars) in Nepal and India :

We have already stated elsewhere how the chronology of Nepal gives a long list of the Kirānta and Ābhīra kings before the Śakas and the Khasas stepped into their shoes as brother Kings. The Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal shows a new Sanskrit term Bhaṭṭāraka from Bhratṛi (Brother) which may be connected with the Scythian term "Bāgā-āsa" for brother kings. The records of India show that the Ābhīras (*Āvars*) lived near Vinasana in the deserts of what is Rājputānā today. They next settled in the Lower-Indus-valley and gradually spread themselves to the maritime states of Aparānta in what is north-Konkan today with its capital of Sopāra or Surpāraka on the banks of the Arabian sea. The Ābhīras held important jobs in the Courts of the Śaka kings till such time as Išvarasena occupied the throne himself. The Guṇḍā Stone inscriptions of the time of Rudrasimha

I in North Kāthiāwār dated Śaka year 103 (=181 A.D.) mentions the Ābhīras in connection with the development of the cult of the storm god Rudra in its concept of "Saddharma". Unlike the ancient Kauśikan history which condemned the Kirāntas, the Yavanas, the Śakas and the Ābhīras alike as those coming from outside the pale of Indo-Aryan religion and culture, the influence of the cults of Rudra and "Saddharma" (true law) appears to have changed the outlook of the Mahārāṣṭrian Brāhmins on the Ābhīras. It is remarkable that the Ābhīras of Nepal were responsible for the celebrated record of the Pilaster of Harigāon¹¹⁵.

The dates appearing in the inscriptions of these kings show peculiarities which coincide with the dates of our Licchavi inscriptions and coins and mark the exact definition of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka Era, as it developed upon the stage of human affairs in the scheme of the Nirvāṇa, Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa eras. It is necessary that we should call our reader's attention to the profound differences between the dates and the superscriptions of the Gupta coins and those of the inscriptions and coins of the Licchavi kings of Nepal against the background of these Kuṣhāṇa and Ābhīra inscriptions. We have adequately described in the foregoing chapters how the Buddhistic "Sarira-stūpas" and monasteries had developed communities of monks and anchorites who withdrew from the general effort and commerce of the Persian, the Indian and the Chinese worlds, so that they may lead lives of austerity and contemplation among the caves of the Himālayas and Central Asia. Śākyamuni had repudiated these ideas with his "Eight spoked wheel of Dharma" but had himself fallen a victim to the Brāhmannic law of Karma and the recurrence of life. The Nirvāṇa Era was a landmark to show that such withdrawals from the world of working men and history would signify nothing to historians. We have also seen how the concept of "Samyak Sambuddha and Saddharma" materialised into the Śaka-saṃvatsaras. On the other hand, the impact of Roman civilisation on the maritime states brought wealth and material prosperity to them from countries as far apart as Rome, Malaya, Java, Annam, Burma and Ceylon. The prosperous maritime states became the bone of contention between the Śakas, Kuṣhāṇas, Huṇas and Ābhīras on the one hand and the Sātavāhana kings of southern Mahārāṣṭra from many centuries. Unlike the eclectic Indo-Greek civilisation, the Latin civilisation had brought the idea of the

Roman law as the real law for mankind in place of "Saddharma" (the true law) and that the Caesars (Kaiser) were believed to be the King of kings who gave such laws. The kings of India envied the title of Caesar and imitated the Roman idea of being the conquerors of the entire earth. The wars of the Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa satraps and the contemporary Indian kings were fought for the control of these cultural and commercial ports and their conquests of these states were regarded as tantamount to the conquest of the world. The imitation of the Roman model continued on to the Gupta period. After the conquest of Mālwa and Kāthiāwar Chandragupta Vikramāditya claimed in his inscription of Udayagiri that the victorious king quartered at the place on his military expedition to conquer the whole earth. After his visits to these maritime states, Chandragupta Vikramāditya closely copied from the silver coins of these Satraps and imprinted the Garuḍa-symbols on his seals and banners in the name of Brāhmannic religious and cultural renaissance¹¹⁶.

We have adequately discussed in Chapter VI of this book the changes in the social, political and religious life of the Chinese peoples between the Han and Tang periods consequent upon the impact of Buddhism. Except for the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins, China had no general coinage like Carthage, Kapilavaṣṭu, Greece and Rome, and unlike the contemporary Semitic countries and India, she was not affected by the cash and credit system of Europe or awed by the idea of the universal application of the Roman law under the reign of the Caesars. In spite of the political and the territorial divisions of China, the Chinese peoples were bound in bonds of a common language, culture, script and religion. Much of the business among the various Chinese provinces were still done on the basis of barter, though they had stamped ingots of silver and perforated zinc or brass for some international and petty local transactions respectively. We have also seen how the Huṇas established themselves as the rulers of China in the province of Sheñsi during the "Three Kingdom period" embracing large areas of northern China, Mongolia and Tibet. As in Europe and India the Huṇas fused with the Chinese peoples to produce the Suy-dynasty which conquered South China and which led to Chinese renaissance. Thus we see that the mixed tribes of the Śakas, Yüe-chih, Kuṣhāṇas and Huṇas were factors in the renaissance of mankind in all parts of the then civilised world. Against

such a historical background it would be useful to make a comparative study of the early chronology and Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal and the Gupta Inscriptions of India to see how far they were responsible in bringing about a transformation in the lives of the respective peoples concerned.

Comparative study of the chronology of the Licchavi kings of Nepal and the Gupta Kings of India :

Seeing how the Sumeru-culture-complex and Śaka Saṃvatsara were ultimately responsible for the great renaissance of mankind, it is remarkable that the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal follow the Śaka Saṃvatsara of 78 A.D. while the Gupta kings of India claim to found their own Era in the scheme of Brāhmannic revival. Though garbled at different periods of history by the interested Buddhist and Brāhmannic scribes to suit the varying needs of the peoples in power, the Chronology of Nepal seems to be based upon a sound and well-founded tradition of the Kirāntas, Śākyas, Licchavis, Śakas, Khasas and Ābhīras who claim to belong to Kāśyapa and Suvarṇa-gotras. If Chandragupta Vikramāditya copied the decadent Roman models in his inscriptions and coins, the Licchavi kings of Nepal continue the title of Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka as a brotherhood of kings in the name of Paśupati, fly the same fish-tail banner with the imprint of the sun and moon flown by King Suddhodhana, pursue the geographical concept of Himavanta expressed by Śākyamuni, copy the symbols of the Śaivite and Buddhist coins of Kapilavastu and of the Śakas and follow the funeral tradition of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph with the improved expression of "Anādinidhana" in place of "Salilanidhana" which provided the motive force that moved the minds of the mixed peoples of Gold-race origin.

The earliest record of the Ābhīras (Āvars) occurs in the chronology of Nāgahrada, which is a Valley on the southern side of the snowy range of Sumeru. They dissolve with the shepherd kings under the light of Paśupati indicated by the udder (stana) of the cow Nimī. Evidently the legend of Nimī-Jātaka or of Ne-muni appears to have stemmed from the Himālayan myth of the cow Nimī and her udder which plays an important role in the development of the legend of Mahī-pāna and Kū-stana. We have also referred to the rise of the lunar dynasty of King Nimiṣa and discussed the tendency of early scribes to link up his heir by adoption, King

Plate No. XVI



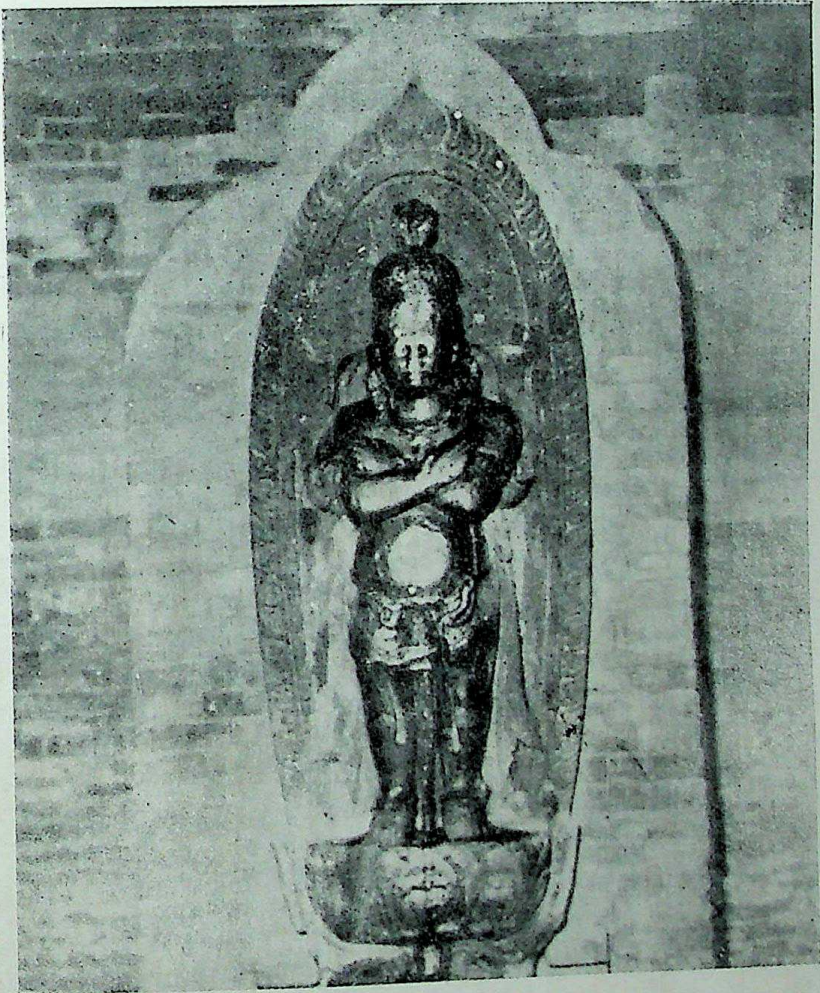
The head of a squint eyed Virûpākṣa (Oedipus) with a faint smile now housed in Nepal Museum from the temple of Vāṇeśvara. Bhāravi refers to this type of the painting of Śiva in his Kirātārjuniya Canto XV stanza 29.

Bhumivarmān, with the celebrated solar dynasty of the Śākya of Kapilavastu described in detail with the "Life of the Buddha." Of this new solar-cum-lunar dynasty king Nimiṣa of the chronology of Nepal lists the names of the following kings and achievements to their credit : 1. Bhumivarmān : For reasons unknown he seems to have quitted his ancestral home at the foot of Phulchokî (Godāvarî) and established his court at Bāneśvara famous for its Śaivite temple of the name where we have discovered an ancient head of Virûpākṣa (see plate XVI); his son Candravarman; his son Barkhavarmān (Hṛīṣavavarmān); his son Sarvavarman; his son Pṛthvivarmān; his son Jyesthavarmān; his son Harivarmān; his son Kuveravarmān; his son Siddhivarmān; his son Haridattavarmān. What is interesting in these names is the progressive syncretism of the Himālayan and Aryan traditions. After the impact of the basreliefs depicting the nativity of Śākyamuni, Hūsa becomes identified with Hārītī; Kuvera or Yakṣa Pāncika are now interwoven with the pestilence goddess Hārītī whom Śākyamuni converted and made subservient to Mother Māyā. Hārītī presently takes the place of Isis and pairs with Kuvera or Yakṣa Pāncika in place of Horus or Heracles, to give rise to the cult of Kuan-yin and Kwannon in China and Japan respectively and Stella Maris as the queen of the seas. In course of this religious transition, the Vaiśrvaṇa coins of Kuvera become a part of the Paśupati coins of the Licchavi kings of Nepal. Then, too we find that, during the reign of King Haridattavarmān the cult of holy Vāsudeva seems to be woven into the net of Vyūha-literature with the introduction of the temples of Cāṅgu, Icaṅgu, Viṣaṅkhu and Śikhin Nārāyaṇas on the four cardinal corners of the valley. A large number of the images of Viṣṇu sculptured on the four cardinal corners of a phallus seem to follow the impact of the cult of Śthāṇu-Śiva or Sukhāvativyūha on the cult of holy Bhāgavata. The Nepalese chronology quaintly remarks that King Haridattavarmān was in the habit of paying a daily visit to the four Nārāyaṇas who in Dvāpara-yūga disclosed themselves to an inspired devotee in the Kathmandu valley. Judging from a large number of headless and badly scarred Buddha images and basreliefs on the sites of the said Vaiṣṇavite temples and the corresponding introduction of the basreliefs of Man-boar and Man-lion, I have reason to feel that the regnal years of these kings represented the most destructive period of the Vedic and Brāhmannic revival

in Nepal. Our Chronology further confirms that a vast number of valuable Buddhist manuscripts were destroyed and inscriptions defaced during this period of Brāhmannic resurgence. The scribe also attributes the serene “Jalaśayana-image” of Viṣṇu lying on the coils of Ananta-nāga known as Budānīlakantha (at the foot of Śivapuri-mountain to the north of Kathmandu) to King Haridattavarmān. Judging from our records and the style of this primordial Godhead on the serpent of Eternity sculptured at different places of the valley of Kathmandu and their mention in different Licchavi inscriptions, the idea seems to be borrowed from the sculptures of the “Sleeping Buddha” after the Great Passing. There could be no doubt that the “Ananta-śayana” images of Nepal are considerably anterior to similar complicated image of “Ananta Śayana” of the Gupta temple of Deogarh in Central India¹¹⁷.

To proceed with Nepalese chronology his (Haridattavarmān's) son Basudattavarmān; his son Pativarmān; his son Śivavṛddhivarmān; his son Vasantavarmān; his son Śivavarmān; his son Rudradevavarmān. Under the overpowering influence of Brāhmannic revival the scribes associate the ancient city of Kapilavastu with the Lāmaist tradition of Lhasa and with the personality of Śunyaśhree-misra, both of which are irrelevant events for this early period. There seems to be a constant exchange of the outward forms of writing the chronology and the common tradition of worship among the Śaivites, the Buddhists and the Brāhmins at this period. Rudradevavarmān was succeeded by his son Vṛṣadevavarmān. With the rise of King Vṛṣadevavarmān Brāhmannic vandalism ceases in Nepal. The Nepalese chronology quaintly remarks that this pious king fed Vajrayoginī before taking his own meals, repaired the Caitya of Dharmadatta and built several Vihāras for Bhikṣus to live in. On his visit to one of the four large Stūpas built at the commencement of Satya-yūga, he appears to have died, so that “the servants of Yama took him to their Master's kingdom but the God of Death chided them for having brought such a virtuous man to Hell. He was, therefore, released, and restored to life again. He then compared what he had seen in Hell with what was written about it in the voluminous text of Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, and finding that they agreed, he was pleased. He attributed his curious adventure to Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, who, as he learned from books, had caused by his presence the cessation of

Plate No. XVII



The statue of a robust young man known by the name of Bala-bala (Mahābala or the man of great muscular strength better known as Balbal among the common people).

the tortures of those in hell. He therefore erected images of Dharmarāja Lokeśvara, Yamāntaka-Āgama and five Dhyāni-Buddhas. His brother Bālārcanadeva is credited with the introduction of rice to the valley by a robust young man known by the name of Balabala (Mahābala) whose statue stands close to the field called Savayamateva-bhumi near the temple of Matsyendra to bear testimony to the great event (See Plate. XVII). Some western and Indian scholars have interpreted Vṛṣadeva's sojourn to Hell to mean his defeat at the hands of Candragupta I who was the founder of the Gupta dynasty of India. But the identical story of Chu Shu lan's descent into hell in China proves conclusively that the legends of Kāraṇḍavyūha were getting popular in Nepal, Central Asia and China during this transitional period of history. More because the adventures of Śākyas, Dharmapāla and Balabala (Mahābala) from Kapilavastu to Central Asia and China help us to put the historical development in its proper perspective¹¹⁸.

It is difficult to imagine how the simple legend of Kāraṇḍavyūha could in any way be related to the battle between our Licchavi king Vṛṣadeva and Candragupta I. There seems to be no limit to the lies that these political historians will tell for the success of their propaganda which stultifies the scientific process of the evolution of the " dharma " (law) of our life. Samudragupta's mention of Nepal as a " Pratyanta " (a country lying on its border), when we put it against the evidences of the contemporary history of the world and of our Licchavi inscriptions, does not detract anything from the flood of international events which were transforming the minds of men in such widely separated parts of the world as Nepal, India, Central Asia and China. Our Licchavi inscriptions and monuments are positive that King Vṛṣadeva stood as a rock against the surging tides of Brāhmannic revival. Many people who have no intellectual grasp upon the meaning of " Dharma " have, nevertheless, the ability to appreciate how its theory grew step by step with the increasing multitude of teachers from Kapilavastu to Kuchā after the downfall of Kuṣhānas. The doctrines of the Great Mother Goddess and Íśvaradeva and of the Eight Noble Paths and how the concept of " Dharma " developed through the ages, seem to be more important than the vainglorious stories of conquests and massacres where the masses of peoples are made to suffer. What is of real significance is the fact that the Licchavi inscriptions, with their direct link-up with the

Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa inscriptions, provide the most useful link in the chain of the concept of “ Saddharma ” (true law) which appear to have sparked the profoundest of feelings amid a variety of peoples against different cultural backgrounds¹¹⁹. According to our chronology, King Vṛṣadeva appears to have passed away leaving behind his pregnant widow in the care of his brother Bālārcanadeva who, however, was much more eager to become a Bhikṣu than hold the reins of government. Vṛṣadeva's queen in due course gave birth to King Śaṅkaradeva. The Brāhmānnic scribe of our chronology, in his vain attempt to associate the south-Indian Brāhmānnic revivalist Śaṅkarācārya of the 8th-9th century A.D. with King Śaṅkaradeva of the 4th century, bridges the gulf of more than four hundred years by the cheap resort to the fables of reincarnations so that he may sack Bālārcanadeva and the Buddhists of Nepal despite the intervention of Maṇi-yoginī. But the huge trident before the northern face of the temple of Paśupati, the Nandi (bull) and the big phallic emblem of Virāṭeśvara side by side with the image of the walking Buddha on the western bank of river Vāgwatī near the Mahendra-lock-bridge, stand to bear testimony to his faith. Then, too, the unearthing of the image of Viṣṇu from the foundation of Viṣṇukṣaya-vihāra and its replacement by the image of Śākyamuni in what is Maurya-varṇa vihāra in Lalitpur and the worship of Iḍa in Pingalā-vihāra give us a glimpse of the tolerant and wide religious atmosphere of the Nepalese peoples during the regnal years of king Śaṅkaradeva. The evidences of the Buddhistic inscriptions of King Śaṅkaradeva in Svayambhu-stūpa, and of Bhoginī (concubine) Mrginī to the memory of her husband Dharmapāla taken together with the statue of Balabala (Mahābala) and interpreted against the background of contemporary international events, open before us a religious vista unforeseen heretofore¹²⁰. The names of the teachers from Kapilavastu, namely, Mahābala (=Balabala) and Dharmapāla (=Dharmaphala), to China run so close to the names occurring in the Nepalese inscriptions as to be striking for the period they represent.

During the period when the Gupta kings of India rode on the tide of Brāhmānnic revival, the rival kingdom of the Licchavis in Nepal appears to have prevailed with her leaders of religion and culture over vast areas of Central Asia as far as China. It is passing strange that the Hephthalite kings Tormāna and Mihirakula, who raided Gupta India from their central

establishment on the Oxus and dreaded by the Gupta kings during the 6th century A.D., appear to have believed in Śthāṇu-Śiva and Man-boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Śthāṇu-Śiva is another name for Paśupati and the cult of the Man-boar incarnation of Viṣṇu provides a useful link in the chain of the development of the cults of the Light deities in the scheme of Śaka-saṃvatsara. Like Attila in Europe, Mihirakula has been branded by western and eastern scholars as the Attila of India for his tough military exercises and Tāntric pastimes calculated to train our mental faculties. But like all the Huṇas of history, the Hephthalites represented the dire vengeance of the Omnipotent over the erring world and finally dissolved in the Indian population with the Ābhīras (Āvars) to transform themselves as the chivalrous Rajputs who increasingly played a greater role in shaping the destiny of the Indian states than the vainglorious Gupta kings of India. But the downfall of these Hephthalite Huṇas was not so much the work of the Gupta kings of India as it was due to the growing might of the Turks and the Persians and to the destruction of their headquarters on the banks of the river Oxus in 565 A.D.

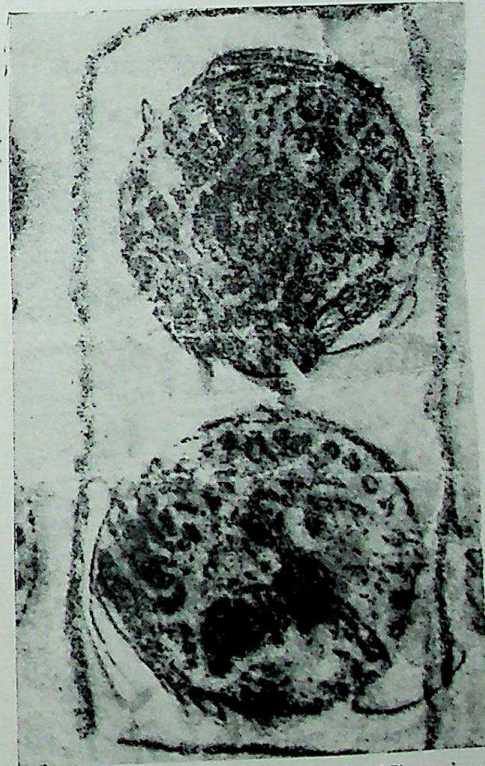
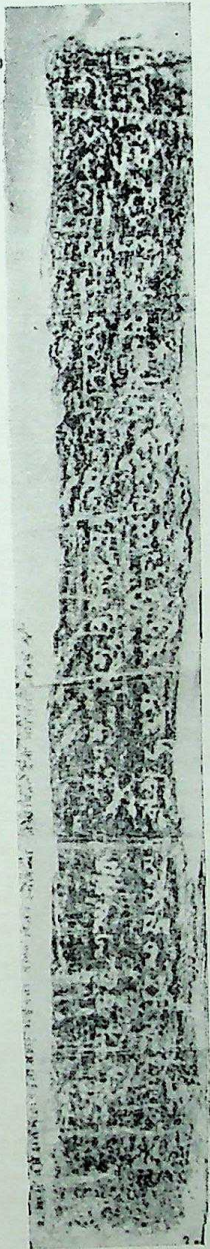
The chronology of the Gupta dynasty of India :

While the petty states of the ruling clans of Rajput Thakuris were forming themselves in Rājputānā, the Gupta kings of India styled themselves as the enemies of the Śakas and the Huṇas. An orthodox section of the Kauśik intellectuals seem to be seething with unrest because the progressive Suvarṇagotra (Gold-race-origin) peoples were tending to bypass what they claimed to be the cultural and religious heritage of the Vedic Brāhmins. These protagonists of Vedic Vaiṣṇavism wanted an Indian dynasty to describe the Brāhmannic renaissance under the inspiration of the epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata which were getting popular with the peoples of Mahārāstra and Indo-Gangetic basins. The Guptas had been an obscure dynasty which, during the days of the Śaka supremacy, had gained control of the Mauryan Imperial capital of Pāṭaliputra. Judging from the contemporary Licchavi inscriptions, the Paśupati-bhaṭṭārakas of Nepal were tending progressively to the astropsychic system of Bhairavi-cakra in the scheme of Śaka-saṃvatsara which was a taboo to the super-race theory propagated by the Brāhmins. Unlike the Licchavis with a glorious tradition,

the Guptas were upstarts ready to be moulded and fitted into the imaginary chronology of Raghuvamśa and Hariyamśa vis-a-vis the authentic chronologies of the Kirāntas, the Śākyas and the Suvarṇagotra peoples stemming from Kapilavastu and other Himālayan states of Suvarṇabhūmi¹²¹.

The time was most opportune because the ancient seats of science, culture, commerce and civilisation in the Gaṇḍakī valleys were now covered up by the overgrowing forests, while the chronology associated with the Life of Śākyamuni had remained objects of curiosity and wonder in far away countries. And because the ancient tribes of Gaṇḍakī had identified themselves with the mixed tribes of the Śakas and their successors, the Kauśikas took advantage of the perplexing absurdities of the political situation of the Gāṇgetic India to divide the peoples into a rigid compartment of caste system by their cheap tricks of promoting and demoting peoples in the scale of human values according to their whims. In order to bypass the historicity of Dipavamśa, Thupavamśa, Dulva and Buddhacarita (the life of Śākyamuni), which were becoming universal in their scope and appeal, the Kauśikas took advantage of the elasticity of Sanskrit language to give etymological explanations to such names as Manuja and Māndhātā instead of historical and symbolical interpretation for the legends of Mahī-pāna and Kūstana. The Kauśikas appear to have joined Chandragupta I in bonds of marriage with the Licchavi-princess Kumāradevī and taken advantage of the event to start the Gupta Era vis-a-vis the Śaka Era to link the ancient race of the Licchavis with the Ikṣvāku dynasty more by the trick of etymology than on the basis of the facts of history. They invented the legend of Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana and Suvarṇadvaipāyana in place of Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa) who was the son of the fisherwoman Satyavatī and saint Parāśara. Contrary to the evidences of the inscriptions of the Pilaster of Harigaon (see Chapter XIV) the composer of the epic of Mahābhārata was worshipped with Nārāyaṇa and Sarasvatī (Minerva) in the Gupta inscriptions of India. If king Samudra Gupta unilaterally claimed Nepal as a Pratyanta, Vijayaswāminī's inscription of Palānchowk dedicated to Devī-bhagavatī Vijayaśhree shows the search for the keys to super-real awareness of sex-relations against the supercaste theory and Xenophobia preached by the reactionary Brāhmins of the Gupta court. The potion of "Kāraṇapūjā" in the hands of Vijayaśhree is superior to the intoxicating Soma-juice

Plate No. XVIII



The dated image of Devī Bhagavati Vijaya-Śhree as the Victorious Lady on the summit of the Palānchowk hill rising steeply from the confluence of the rivers Kauśikī and Indrāyaṇī in East No. 1, Nepal.

and hempseeds used by the Śakas in their Mahāyānic Maṇḍalas (circular symbols of the universe) of the “ Sarirastūpas ” representing the system of Kāla-cakra. If the Bhoginī series of Mānānkās (coins of Māna Deva struck to commemorate the victory) carries the ancient tradition of the coins of Kapilavastu on the progressive economic ratio provided by the Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa coins, the coins of the Gupta dynasty of India copy the Roman-cum-Carthaginian concept of the world-conqueror (prithvī-vijeta) in lieu of Caesar. For, on the coins Chandragupta I and Samudragupta with the attributes of world-conqueror we find figures of horses without trappings before a “ Yūpa ” (stake) exactly like those found on Carthaginian coins. But unlike the horses with riders of the Śaka and Hethalite kings, the riderless horses are categorically described as “ Aśvamedha ” (horse-sacrifice) horses in support of the Vedic tradition of “ Cakravartin ” (world-conqueror). After his conquest of Kāthiāwār and Mālwā, Candragupta II (Vikramāditya) assumes to himself the title of “ Vijitāvanir ” (the wide earth conquered), and his commemorative coins bear, on the obverse, the head of the king in weak imitation of the head of Caesar with inscriptions in Greek characters, while the obverse shows the Vaiṣṇavite mount Garuḍa, moon-crescent to left and star to right. The strange ensemble seen on the coins of the Gupta dynasty of India reveals to us their medley of beliefs which do not conform to the traditional signs and symbols seen on the variety of coins discovered at different levels in our excavations of Kapilavastu and continued in the Licchavi coins of Nepal. Against the background of the archaeological researches in Kapilavastu and different historical sites of Suvarṇabhūmī, Strîrājya and Nāgahrada, Nepal seems to provide a tremendous perspective to the civilisation of Asia. In common with the Śakas, the Kuṣhāṇas, the Ābhîras (Āvars) and the Huṇas, the Licchavi Bhaṭṭārakas appear to have carried the ancient heritage and given the sum of man's answers to the problems of our society and the universe of pure matter through the sacramental performances of “ Kāraṇa-pūjā ” with the Five Ms in King Māna Deva's progressive scheme of Bhairavi-cakra. What is passing strange is the indisputable fact that the coins of Nepal from the palmy period of the Śākyas to the Licchavis bear progressively the signs and symbols as an aid to spiritual creativity and expansion of awareness of our self beyond the bounds of auditory and visual

hallucinations. Judging from the sensational discoveries of Kapilavastu I have now reason to believe that Kapilavastu was the cradle of Sumeru-culture-complex and the Nirvāṇa, Śaka and Mānadeva Saṃvatsaras as living and tangible forces to our own day¹²².

Judging from the inscriptions and gold coins of Kumāragupta, the expansion of the Gupta empire appears to have reached its zenith. But the masses of peoples seem to be living then under the delusion of the etymological jargons and cloudy-rituals that were "full of sound and fury" signifying nothing.

CHAPTER : IX

The tradition of South India :

The judicial customs of South India begin with the records of the Śātavāhana kings in the latter half of the first century B.C. with their cave inscriptions of the Nāsik district of Bombay Presidency. We have briefly described in passing how the Śātavāhana kings had risen in south-eastern Mahārāṣṭra on the decline of the political power of the Mauryas and the Śungas sometime between 200 and 100 B.C. They had extended their power to Mālwā after their defeat of the Śungas, occupied Madhyapradesa (Central India) and were responsible for the completion of the celebrated stūpas of Sāñchi, situated between the states of Jhānsi and Bhopāl, when the Greek King Menander visited the place in his campaigns of Central India. The stūpas and gates of Sāñchi are counted among the greatest masterpieces of Indian art and are a never-ending attraction to the devout and the tourists to our own day. International scholars and artists have written volumes on the stūpas and the gateways of Sāñchi and have also made comparative studies of the monuments and the sculptures of Sāñchi and Bhārhut, so that our comments on them would be frankly superfluous.

Judging from their scanty inscriptions of this obscure period, the Śātavāhanas were repulsed by the Śaka Kṣaharāta (satrap) Nahapāna of Western India between roughly about 80 and 125 A.D. King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi appears to have recovered Mālwā from the Śakas sometime in the second quarter of the second century A.D. Then the victorious Kushāṇas appear to have pushed them back to the Deccan, so that they extended their power along the river valleys of Godāvarī and Kriṣṇā on the Eastern Ghāts. We have already described the wars of the Śaka satraps with the Śātavāhana Kings for the control of the rich maritime ports and cities situated on the coasts of the Arabian seas. The real crime of these rich maritime states was their material prosperity. From our religious point of view, this was a blessing in disguise in that the rich, influential and devout Śātavāhanas were able to supplement the rich Buddhist heritage of Ceylon and help its export to Burma, Malaya, Java, Annam

and China across the seas. In process of time, the sea route was found to be shorter and more practicable than the silken trade routes of Central Asia for the export of the Śātavāhana culture. Even after the Kṣaharāta and later, the Kārdamaka Satraps of Western India annexed part of the Śātavāhana Empire, and still later when the Empire itself disintegrated early in the third century A.D., its religion and culture survived and was cultivated beyond the bounds of India. It is tragic that in South-India itself the Ikṣhvākus and Brihatphalāyans should be claiming their descent from the Licchavi tribes of Northern India under the growing influence of the epic of Rāmāyaṇa, specially at a time when the Gold-race theory contra-indicated such a development. We may now analyse the records of the actual inscriptions and the accounts of the Kauśikan Purāṇas (myths and legends) to find for ourselves how they differ. Authorities on the Indian architecture are now unanimous that the Nāsik-hall belonged to the same period as the cave-inscriptions of Nāsik mentioned at the very outset of this chapter. The Nāsik hall was built by the officers-in-charge of taking care of the Buddhist order of Śramaṇa (pilgrim) during the reign of the Śātavāhana King Kriṣṇa. According to the Brāhmānic Purāṇas (old legends) these Buddhist Śātavāhana Kings have been described as belonging to the Āndhra country situated on the Eastern Ghāts to the south of Kaliṅga comprised presently by the Indian province of Orissa. Some Purāṇas go even so far as to describe the Śātavāhanas as Āndhrabhṛtya (the slaves of the Āndhra people). But according to the authentic inscriptions of the Śātavāhana Kings, none of them had anything to do with the Āndhra country or with the beautiful river valleys of Godāvarī or Kriṣṇā. The only common element between the two extremes was the growing popularity of the name of Kriṣṇa who is believed to be the author of the Celestial song absorbed in the epic of Mahābhārata known popularly as the Bhagavatgītā.

The list of countries forming the Kingdom of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscriptions of Vāshisthīputra Pulāmvi (C. A.D. 149) does not include Āndhradeśa (the country of the Āndhras). Epigraphic, numismatic and literary evidences agree that the Śātavāhana Kingdom originated to the north of the Deccan countries in the vicinity of the city of Bombay. According to Ptolemy's geography, the first Śātavāhana

King to extend his political power to Āndhradeśa was Vāshiṣṭhiputra Pulāmvi, whose name appears to have become popular with the Kauśīkans because of its association with the Brāhmanic saint Vashiṣṭha. Some coins of the Śātavāhanas have also been discovered in the Indian province of Berar. All these evidences testify to the extent or the limitation of the Śātavāhana power during the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D., but they have nothing to do with the country of the origin and the rise of the glorious dynasty of the Śātavāhana Kings. The Kauśīkans with their innate hatred against the Śaka Era seem to have confused the Śātavāhana with Śālivāhana who appears to have adopted the Millennia of the Śakas. This is extremely significant.

The inscription of Pulāmvi under review throws interesting side-light on the political condition of North-western India. The Śakas have been described as Khakharāta (Kṣaharāta) which is similar to the term Kirāta, and if the expression Kirāta refers to the specific tribe or his country, then equally Khakharāta may refer to a particular tribe of the Śakas or his tribe. The successes of the mixed tribes of the Śakas, Kasas and the Khasas over the north-western and the north-eastern countries seem to be responsible for the comparative insignificance of the Śātavāhanas for many years before Gautamīputra could establish his family's fortune. The name Gautamīputra smacks very strongly of the tradition of Śākyamuni, in that Gautama Buddha derived his name from the fact that he was adopted by Gotamī (Prabhāvatī or Prajapatī) after the demise of his Mother Māyā Devī shortly after his birth. The expression " Khatiya-dapa-māna-madanasa " meaning the pride, honour and cupidity of the fighting classes " occurring in this inscription definitely refers to the growing identification of the fighting Śaka tribes with the Khatriyas as they went on gaining political power. At this crucial period the Yavanas (the Greeks) and the Pahlavas (Persians or Perso-Parthians) seem to hold their sway over the Punjab, the North-west-frontier provinces and the Sind regions. The Hindu epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata seem to be exercising a great influence upon the Kings of South-India while they desperately fought among themselves and vaguely laid their claims of suzerainty over the Deccan peninsula as they waxed and waned in the scale of their caste and military fortune. It would be interesting to examine a few of their inscriptions for the assessment of their basic religious faith.

The Nānāghat inscriptions of the Śātavāhana Kings located in the Bombay Presidency of Western Deccan, give glimpses of their immense fortune at a time when the Śaka Satraps shared the sovereignty of Northern India among themselves. At about the same period, the famous King Kharvela appears to have been the sovereign of Western Deccan. To come now to the religious faith of these feuding southern Kings, the Indo-Aryan gods Indra and Dharmarāja seemed to be seeking syncretism with such Lokapālas (Lords of the peoples) as Yama and Vāsava, all of whom, however, are separately mentioned. The boast of Brāhmannic heraldry from the four-headed Brahmā and its unproductive genealogy could have no meaning for people down on earth who demanded an answer to their questions of life and death. We do not, however, find any mention of such Dikpālas as Virûpākṣa, Kuvera, Dhataratha and Virûlhaka. The doctrines of Kāraṇḍavyûha, which gave an impetus to the synthesis of manifold gods of Central Asia and which influenced the thoughts of Chu-shu-lan in China, appear to have surreptitiously entered the Brahmannic literature of Viṣṇusamhitā and absorbed the Vaiṣṇavite pantheon of Śaṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsu-deva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha in the astropsychic doctrine of “Vyûha” (cosmic fortress). It is wrong to assume on the basis of the following record of this inscription (namely वासुदेवाय सङ्कर्षणाय प्रद्युम्नायानि रुद्राय) as some scholars have done, that the doctrine of “Vyûha” had developed in South-western much earlier than in Northern India. The Śaivite Liṅgas specially of Śthānu Śiva and Buddhistic stone Caityas built in the scheme of fortress representing different periods of history are too numerous in Nepal to give credence to such a theory. On the other hand, I have discovered quite a few Vaiṣṇavite stone monument in the valley of Nepal which conclusively prove that the above-said four deities of the Vaiṣṇavite pantheon were absorbed in the astropsychic scheme of “Vyûha.”

The great number of sacrifices mentioned in these inscriptions testify to the influence of Vedic-Karmakāṇḍa (sacrifices made according to the injunctions of the Three Vedas) in the Imperial court of the Śātavāhana monarchs. Such international authorities as Bühler, Macdonnell and Keith have adequately described the complexities of the Vedic sacrifices. The extravagant accounts of the performance of Aśvamedha (horse-sacrifice) in

honour of the Vedic gods of the sky and the huge amounts of Dakṣiṇās (payment made to the priestly caste of Brāhmins in money or in kind) only reveal the Śātavāhana's battle for status, leadership and prestige with the Śaka satraps and their rivals at the cost of the tax-payers whose spiritual needs were freedom from the thralldom of caste system, mental and physical hunger and afflictions. Basically the principles and practices of the horse sacrifice (Aśvamedha) concerned the victories of Simuka not only over the Śakas, but also over the Brāhmannic Kānva and the Śūnga Kings on one excuse or another. In fact, Kings Śātakarṇi and Kṛiṣṇa were the brothers of Simuka. In this case the war of Simuka was a matter of expediency rather than that of a principle, and the Śātavāhana Kings needed unscrupulous Brāhmins to justify their wars and all the evils associated with their field actions by resort to Aśvamedha (horse sacrifices) in the sacred land of Mahārāṣṭra to the chanting of such eulogies as "Āh, Brāhmaṇo Brāhmaṇāḥ Brahnavartaye Jāyataḥ Mahārāṣṭre" etc. which were incorporated in the Brāhmannic sacriptides for export. Thus we see how the simple Vedic traditions of the Indo-Aryans went on gathering corruptions as and when the Purāṇas multiplied with the advent of the Gupta kings.

The system of land management :

We do not find the custom of land-management by the Pañcas (the five village elders), the division of land according to their first, second and third categories for taxation and the system of land-tenure according to the capacity of the peasant proprietor to cultivate for himself or bring it under his plough, as in the inscriptions of Nepal. The system of land measurement also seems to be completely different from the records found in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal. Here one Nivarttana of land was 240×240 square cubits (2.975 acres) or 120×120 Square cubits (.743 acres). The Government owned, controlled and leased the land to the landlords who, in their turn, gave it to the tillers. The landlords had the power of punishing the tenants for minor offences. However, the district officer did not interfere with the administration of lands donated for charitable purposes. But inspite of the predilection of the Śātavāhana kings for the Vedic rituals, the Buddhistic doctrine of "Vyūha" appears to have preserved

Buddhism in its scheme of Kālacakra and also absorbed Mahārāṣṭrian gods.

The tradition of Eastern Deccan, Āndhra and Kaliṅga States :

I have personally travelled most of the southern countries and found that the conditions are far different from the beautiful States of Western Deccan and Mahārāṣṭra. Here wide river valleys emerge into a coastal plain, where forested hills affording good sites for the traditional temples and monasteries are few and far between. Both the Āndhras and the Kaliṅgas seem to be energetic seafarers and traders whose ships sailed to Burma, Malaya, Cambodia and Annam to the East and to Ceylon and perhaps as far as the ports of the Roman Empire. About the same time as the Śātavāhanas were building their Empire in Western Deccan, the Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhanachedis (Chetis or the forefathers of the Chettiars of to-day) were founding a kingdom in Kaliṅga (Orissa). This Kingdom became a considerable power between the first century B. C. and the first century A. D. under a Jaina King known by the name of Khārvela with its capital of Kaliṅganagara (Sisupālgarh) to the south-east of Bhuvaneśvara—the present capital of the province of Orissa in India.

The Hāthigumpha Cave-inscriptions of King Khārvela lying close to the Udayagiri (hills) in the district of Puri show that he addressed the people in Prākṛit language which seems to be closer to the Pāli language of Magadha than to the Paisāchi Prākṛit of Gandhāra and Central Asia. The script is akin to the script in which the Pāli Tripiṭaka is written. As a devoted Jaina, Khārvela appears to have erected a huge Jaina temple which has disappeared today. King Khārvela claims his descent from the Chedi (Chettiar) Kings of Uparicāra Vasus and seems to believe in cross-cousin marriage like the ancient Śākyas and Kolis of Kapilavastu and Rāmagāma. Among the kingdom of Bhāratavarṣa (northern India) he mentions Magadha (South Bihar), Aṅga (East Bihar) and gloats over the retaliation of the Aśokan conquest of Kaliṅga (Orissa) by the Nandas. Although the Jaina temple of Khārvela is there no longer, the retreat for Jaina Arhatas (hermits) and the monuments of his father Vadraka, his queen and his son Vadhuka on the Udayagiri hills, some six miles to the north-west of the present capital of Orissa,—have survived to bear testimony to his greatness.

The inscriptions of Āndhradeśa :

The inscriptions of Āndhradeśa, specially those of the Ikṣhvākus (Ekkaku) of the Kistṇa-Guntur region, is important for their mention of Virûpākṣa and their claim to the title of Virûpākṣa-pati (Lord of Virûpākṣa). Contrary to the tradition of the Himālayas, Virupākṣa in these inscriptions is identified with Gaṇa (follower or subject) where Skanda is the leader. We have already seen how Virûpākṣa is the central figure in the transition from Dharma-cakra to the astropsychic theory of Kāla-cakra. By coincidence or by contrast the extension of the Yakṣa cult of Virûpākṣa as an Yogācara doctrine or as a doctrine of "Vyûha" or as a Dikpāla (guardian) of the western region, had become a human achievement in the course of Śaka millennia. We have adequately discussed at the very outset how the Yakṣa legend of Virûpākṣa and Hû-ṣa was absorbed in the psychological cult of Paśupati and of the Great Mother Goddess to give birth to the astropsychic theory of death and also how the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas the Pahlavas and the Kushāṇas interpreted it by founding the Śaka Era. It is interesting to note that these Ikṣhvāku Kings in their inscriptions seem to interpret Śākyamuni's theory of Nibbāna with the Buddhistic custom of Nibbānasampatti which, according to their scripture of Khuddapāṭhaka, meant the attainment and the enjoyment of the state of Arhatship. Judging from the contact of Khuddasvāmi in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, we have grounds to believe that they were fairly active in their search for knowledge in this field¹²³. The superscriptions on their coins were just imitations from the Roman "Dinars" (Denarius). Beyond practical commercial purpose, the coins of the Ikṣhvākus do not seem to represent any religious significance.

The inscriptions of King Virapurashadatta of about the second half of the third century A. D., discovered at the historical site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa at the lower course of the river Kistṇa (Kriṣhnā), respect the Aryan Eight-paths preached by Śākyamuni under the title of Dasavala for possessing the knowledge of ten kinds so common in Nepal and northern countries. Among the countries of northern India he mentions Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Kirāta (Nepal), Tosali (Mauryan provincial capital of Dhauli near Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa), Aparānta (North Konkan), Baṅga (parts of central, eastern and southern Bengal), Vanavāsi (north Kanara country),

Dāmila (Tamil), and Yavana (Greek colonies). Evidently, the Ikṣhvāku dynasty of the south does not seem to be aware of the vicissitudes in the history of Nepal or in the political fortunes of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kushāṇas or of the earlier tribes of the Licchavis. This only shows that the Ikṣhvāku dynasty of the south was in no way related to the Licchavi clan of Vaiśālī; it was the Gupta court poet laureate Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśam (the chronology of the dynasty of Raghu) that had forged the link.¹²⁴

Judging from the ruins of the great stūpas and monasteries, the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley was perhaps the capital of the Ikṣhvākus. They may have originated in the region of Srīparvata in the Nallamalur range and Mahendragiri in the Ganjam and the Tinnevely districts. Except for the mention of some pious donations, we do not find the northern concept of Saṃyaka society. Though Buddhists, they performed the Vedic Aśvamedhas (horse sacrifices) which made them the favourites of poet Kālidāsa for their role in the celebrated literature of Raghuvamśam, which is a fantastic genealogy of the tribes of Raghu. The only common factor between the Ikṣhvākus and the Guptas was their hatred for the Śakas, and because their origin was shrouded in mystery it was comparatively easy for Kālidāsa to operate from a base which could not be challenged on historical grounds.

It would be useful at this stage to take a bird's eye view of the religious relics among the ruins of Amatāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and some historical sites of the south in order to glean from them the medley of beliefs represented by them. Most of the stūpas have been utterly destroyed, but excavators have discovered their ground plan and rescued some reliefs which depict not only the early Buddhistic Jātaka stories, but also the life story of Śākyamuni as described in Lalitavistāra. We have already said that Dharmarakṣa was responsible for the translation of Lalitavistāra as "P'u yao ching" at about the same period. We have also pointed out how the historical Buddhas were represented by the symbols of their trees and by their foot prints during the earliest period of Buddhistic history. If the walking Buddhas of China owe their origin to the "Anāgata Buddha" of Caṇḍakavartana (*See plate XIII with the running commentary*) the same glorified Buddha of Lalitavistāra is now represented in human shape,

surrounded by hosts of gods, genii, bevy of charming girls and maids to become at last the teacher of the astropsychic theory of Kālacakra in his fulness of human experience, rather than of renunciation,—before whom the gods and angels of the ten thousand world systems bow down in submission. This is the Anāgata Buddha (unborn or the future Buddha) who takes the Brāhmī bow before Brahmā and Indra in the attitude of describing the future with a step in the Nepalese sculpture. This again is the Buddha of the Kushāṇa coins and sculptures with flames behind his shoulders on the eve of delivering the sermon of Saddharmapūṇḍarika sūtra (Scripture of the white Lotus aphorism of the true doctrine). Although the Ikṣhvākus of the Krishna-Guntur region try to play down the legend of Virūpākṣa, the Yakṣa cult seems to overpower them with its sexual appeal to tell them that this is the first step to Yoga (self-discipline).

CHAPTER : X

What do the inscriptions and documents of countries beyond the borders of India indicate ?

We had the occasion to discuss at the very outset of Chapter V how the orthodox Hinayānists known as the Theravādins (=Sthaviravādins=upholders of the doctrines of the Elders) had invented the Confessiofides of cause and effect (Ye dhammā hetu pabhavā (vide *⁴¹) in lieu of the concept of Saṃbuddha as early as the Second Buddhist Synod of Vaiśālī, where they completely broke away from the Haimavata school who advocated a practical approach to human problems through the path of Sensory perception. Then, too, we have discussed in Chapter VI how the great message of Śākyamuni was taken to Ceylon by the missionaries of the orthodox school after the Third Buddhist Synod of Pāṭaliputra convened under the leadership of Tissa Moggaliputta. Evidently it was this Third Buddhist Council that incorporated the Hinayānist confessiofidei of “Ye dhammā hetu pabhavā” in their Magadhan court literature of Abhidharma-piṭaka (basket of the doctrines of cause and effect) in Pāli language, and the Theravādins were successful in making the Hinayānist school of Buddhism popular in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand even to our own day. It is, therefore, easy to see why the Theravādins gave a go-by to the Yogācāra doctrines of the schismatic Haimavata or Kāśyapiya school led by Upāli with his questionnaire known as Upālipariṇcchā in the very first Buddhist Synod of Rājgrha after the Great Passing and the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. It is only in the records of the north-western Pakistan that we find the concept of Samyak-Saṃbuddha, and it is also mainly in Chinese translations that such important works as Ugradatta-pariṇcchā Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana, Buddhābhaṣita-Ajātaśatru-sūtra, Druma-kinna-rarāja-pariṇcchā and treatises in respiratory exercises have survived.

The inscriptions of Ceylon :

Ceylon deserves credit for having preserved Dīpavaṃśa and Thupavaṃśa and a complete record of the school of Theravāda; but the Āṇḍiyā-

kaṇḍa cave Inscription of Tissa Abaya (*Epigraphia Zeylanica* I p. 144) in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī script of the second century B. C. as well as the Duwe Gala Cave Inscription (*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, III, p. 104, Plate XX) seem to be peculiar in their own way for the following important reasons :—

1. Like Aśoka the Ceylonese monarch Tissa Abhaya (77-59 B. C.) assumes to himself the title of Devanāmpiya (beloved of the gods),—but where Aśoka seems to be content with the commonplace title of “lājina” (Rājā=king), the Ceylonese king appropriates to himself the more pretentious title of Mahārāja (Mahārāja=Great King). It is remarkable that the Indo-Greek king Eucratides (c. 171-160 B. C.) was the first foreign monarch to use the title of Mahārāja on his bilingual coins (*Smith's Catalogue* p. 12). This title indicates Ceylon's intercourse with the Indo-Greeks, Śakas and Pahlavas of north-western Himālayan countries much earlier than the missions of Tissa Moggaliputta or of Aśoka's son Mahendra. We have already pointed out how such Royal titles of Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Mahārājadhirāja etc. were popularised in India by the Iranian, Indo-Greek and Śaka-Pahlava kings while the titles used in Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī were Mahamatana (Mahanta or Mahata) also found in the documents of the Śaka and Central Asiatic kings.

2. The peculiarity of Duwe Gala Cave Inscription suggests that the Brāhmī script was introduced to Ceylon from the prehistoric writing of Indus-valley long before the missions of Aśoka and Tissā Moggaliputta. This Ceylonese record, like Kharoṣṭhī, is written from right to left. On the other hand the earliest Brāhmī records of the Gaṇḍakī-valley and Śrāvastī as well as the records of Aśoka are written from left to right. The development of Brāhmī characters donot appear to be uniform in all parts of the then known world. It is quite possible that the Brāhmī alphabets, like other Semitic writings, were written from right to left. The Ceylonese and the Kharoṣṭhī records connect the Brāhmī scripts with the prehistoric writings of the Indus-valley. It is equally remarkable that the development of the cult of the Great Mother Goddess of Fertility and Paśupati in the astropsychic scheme of Kāla-cakra supports the evidences of the earliest epigraph of the prehistoric sites of Moheñjodāro and Harappa. We have adequately discussed in previous chapters how the ideology of

fertility and sexual symbols of the ringstone and the phallus found symbiosis with the Yakṣa cults of Śākyavardhana, Virûpākṣa and Hû-ṣa which inspired Upāli with the impulse of the Yogācāra doctrine which led to the schism in the First Buddhist-synod of Rājgrha. With the second Buddhist synod of Vaiśālī the orthodox Theravādins (elders) and Aśoka appear to have succeeded in driving the Haimavata school to the Himālayas and beyond till the rise of the Śāka-kings, who founded the Śāka-saṃvatas (eras) to interpret the revelation of "Saddharma" (true law) with flames rising from their shoulders against the heaving background of Sumeru-culture-complex under the impact of the said Yakṣa cults and the concept of Samyak-Sambuddha. No doubt the Eight-spoked-Wheel of Law (Dharma-cakra) and the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph were the starting point of a further search into the mysteries of life and death by awakening the sixth sense in human beings with the aid of the Yogācāra doctrines propagated by the Śaiva-yogins, which Upāli adopted with his questionnaire known as Upāli-paripṛcchā. It is remarkable that the Yogācāra doctrine was taken up in the Fourth-Buddhist-Council of Kaṇiṣhka till the Kuṣhāṇa King visited Kapilavastu, Lumbini and Śrāvastī to start his era in the astropsychic scheme of Samyak Sambuddha which the Licchavi kings of Nepal adopted on the fronton of their inscriptions. Thus we see that the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka era gives a unity of purpose and drive to the Sumeru culture-complex and Śāka-saṃvatas from Moheñjodāro in Indus valley to the island of Bālī in its pristine purity even to our own day.

As a basic factor in the transition from Śākyamuni's concept of Dharmacakra to the principles and practices of the astropsychic scheme of Kālacakra was the Sumeru culture-complex of the Indus valley civilisation. It would be useful at this stage to ascertain the area of the distribution of this most ancient Hindu culture because no scholar had so far applied himself to the study of the religious and social development obtaining in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal with reference to the historical link between the Śāka and Kuṣhāṇa Eras as a practical development from the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase epitaph and the consequent Nirvāṇa Era. Quite oblivious of the religious implication of the Nirvāṇa and the Śāka Eras, Sir Mortimer Wheeler in "The Indus civilisation" wrote to say that its urban culture spread from the foot of the Simla-hills namely, Rupar and

Suktagendor as far as the coast of the Arabian sea for a distance of about 1,000 miles. Equally unaware of the impact of the Yakṣa culture-complex of Sumeru Professor Adolfo Tamburello extended its borders to the east as far as Alamgirpur in the basin of river Jumna (Yamuna), and to the south into Kāthiāwād (Rangpur, Lothal, Somanāth) and beyond, to the coast of the Gulf of Cambay near the estuaries of the rivers Narmadā and Tāpti on the basis of the archaeological explorations during the last decade. This southern extension of this Indus civilisation has modified the former picture and increased the importance of the *maritime factor* in the formation and growth, and of its possible contacts which had been established with the civilisation of ancient Mesopotamia. Under these circumstances the Duwe Gala Cave Inscription in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī script of the first century B. C. reading, like Kharoṣṭhī, from right to left, show that the original Brāhmī scripts used in the Kharoṣṭhī documents seem to be derived from the so far undeciphered pictograms engraved on the clay seals or carved on hardstones or ivory in the pre-Aryan urban habitations of the Indus valley. Thus we see that much before the spread of the Pāli language, Prākṛit had become universal. Eminent scholars have written volumes on the exquisite art and culture of Ceylon, which at some remote periods of history seem to be influenced by the Indus valley culture. The crude engraving of a ship and ship's anchor at the right side of the inscription indicate that the Indus valley urban civilisation had its maritime aspects. It is evident that this interesting feature was responsible for the universal spread of the Indus valley culture of the ringstone and phallus to the isles of the Southern seas.

The records of Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan :

We have already briefly referred to the Taxila fragmentary Aramaic Inscription, the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Aśoka and to the large number of Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered by Sir Stein in his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestan in 1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-16, beyond the Niyā river in the regions of Niyā, Lou-lan, Imām Ja'far Sadiq and Endere. We have also pointed out in Chapters VI and VII how the Chinese translations of the "Sūtra in 42 sections" and other Mahāyānist treatises were done from Prākṛit and Sanskrit sources and not from Pāli. We have also pointed out

how the Śākya, Kolis and teachers belonging to Suvarṇagotra (Gold-race origin) were responsible for the spread of the Yogic practices of respiration and Dhyāna (meditative) concentrations among the Chinese peoples on the trail of Taoist-teachings. Against such a historical background, it would be useful to examine and assess the religious and social aspects of the actual documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein who has adequately described the circumstances of their discovery in his famous works known as "Ancient Khotan (1907)," "Serindia (1921)" and "Innermost Asia (1928)." The records discovered in the first and second expeditions were published by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart in their celebrated works entitled "Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions (part I, 1920) and Part II in 1927." The records of the Third Expedition were published by Professors Rapson and P. S. Noble in the same series as Part III in 1929 A. D. It is remarkable that Professor T. Burrow has carried out researches in the language and published its results in his "Language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents (Cambridge, 1937)" and "A translation of the Kharoṣṭhī documents (London, 1940)." Most of these records are written with ink on wedgeshaped wooden tablets; but some are written on other materials such as leather on account of their inestimable worth. By and large the majority of works are done in Prākṛit and Sanskrit languages influenced to some extent by local languages and Kharoṣṭhī scripts of the 3rd-4th century A. D. Subsequent to this, entire libraries have been unearthed in Central Asia by missions sent by the governments of the Soviet Union, Germany, Japan and other leading countries of the world.

It is still difficult to ascertain how the original documents were recorded and taken to China for translations during the "Early and Later Han periods." The comparatively late date of the records seem to be responsible for the many peculiarities of the Paiśācī-Prākṛit and transitional Sanskrit languages used in the documents. It is evident that both the Ceylonese and Central Asiatic documents seem to be made to suit the requirement of the local dialects.

Equally remarkable is the peculiarity of the Kharoṣṭhī scripts indicating "*visarga*" by two dots placed over the letter and the length of the vowel by a slanting curved stroke to the right of the base of a letter. Modification of consonantal sounds is indicated usually by a sign resembling

ling the subscript r (र here marked by a dot below the letter whereas the fully developed Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal write र exactly like the subscript r without the dot). The same is true of the letters Da (ड), Ja (ज) and Ba (ब). Signs for e (इ) and length indicate ai (ऐ). The editors of the Central Asiatic records have also noticed modified Kṣa (क्ष=कक्ष), Ga (ग=ग्र) Ga (ग=गल), Ca (च=श्च), Ma (मर=मं), Sa (ष=ष्ण), Ha (ह=ह्ल) and Sa (स=स्न) with a horizontal stroke above them. Modified Ka (क=ख) with the right arm touching the vertical base, and letters like Pha (फ=ह्ल), Tha (ठ=ठ्ठ) may be conjuncts. The modified subscript Pa (प) is either Ya (य) or Ba (ब). Hasanta Ba (व), Da (द) and Ta (त) is indicated by a visarga-like sign put below the preceding letter (˙). Then, too, there are some peculiarities about the numerals. It is most interesting to note that the scripts Kṣa (क्ष=कक्ष) and Gña (ङ्ग), which are common in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, appear very late in the corresponding Gupta Inscriptions of northern India and still later in the box-headed Brāhmī inscriptions of South-India. There could, therefore, be no doubt that the archaic northern Brāhmī scripts of the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal were acting as a bridge between the sounds and inflexions of the trans-Himālayan and the cis-Himālayan countries.

Influence of the Śaka vocabulary and judicial customs on the Central Asiatic documents and the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal :

If the early documents of the Indo-Greeks, Śakas and Pahlavas bear the stamp of the erotic Yakṣa-cults and the concept of Saṃbuddha, then paradoxically the Central Asiatic documents and the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal seem to be very strongly influenced by the vocabulary and judicial customs of the Kuṣhāṇas and Kaṇiṣka's Era. Under the overall influence of the Kingdom of women and of the concept of "Strīśvara," the structure of society as well as the political relationship and the warrant of precedence of the Bhaṭṭārakas (Brother-kings) appears to have acted and reacted on each other to produce a change for the better. Then, too, we find a large number of unPrākritic and unSanskritic words and letters in our Licchavi inscriptions which can only be explained by reference to the foreign records. Evidently the name "Bhoṭṭa" for Tibet appears to trace its origin to the word "Boḍa" occurring in the coins of Kaṇiṣka I. If the words "Māl-

pota" (land-revenue) and "Kara" (taxes of all forms) trace their origin to the Malla-pota and Kara occurring in our Licchavi inscriptions, then equally the tax-collectors were known as Soṭhaṃga which seems to be borrowed from "ṢOSTĀNKĀN" of the Tokhari (Tuṣāra) records. It is remarkable that the word "ṬĀNKĀN" for taxes realisable in hard-cash occurs in the vocabulary of many Himālayan tribes of Nepal even to our own day. The opening expressions on the obverse of the covering tablet from the transcript of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (see Lüders, Act Or XVII p. 36) reading "Kāji Bhimaya soṭhaṃga" reveal the mixture of the Irānian, Sanskritic and Tokharian traditions, while the place names Khotam (=Kustana=Khotan) and Ninam (Niyā-river) appear to trace their origin to the legend of Mahīpāna (=earth-teat suckled) and Nyāya (=justice) respectively. The letter written by the Mahārāja to Kāji Yitaka Tomga (transport captain=Sārthavāha) show that the officers in charge of the organisation of transport occupied a very high position, and that the payment for nourishing an adopted child (specially female) even from the slave girl, had to be paid in terms of horses. Evidently the horses, camels, yaks and other animals of transport seem to be more important to the Himālayan and trans-Himālayan nomads than the cows and bulls to the agricultural communities of the plains. It is thus evident that the transport animals were the basis of barter and trade. It is remarkable that the figures of horses seem to be more popular with the Śaka and Khasa kings than the bulls and cows on the frontons of the Licchavi inscriptions and coins of Nepal, where the shepherd god Paśupati provided the bond of friendship. All cases of disputes relating to the adoption of a child in its infancy or the stealing of a Bactrian camel or a horse were referred to the King, discussed by their respective advocates in the presence of witnesses and decided according to the law of the land. Compared with their Yakṣī and Kinnarī sisters of the Himālayan highlands, the Central Asiatic women enjoyed little freedom. The latter, if they became widowed, did all the menial job of cutting the wood for day-to-day use and bearing the grass for their domestic animals, of irrigating the fields and of carrying water in pitchers on their backs from nearby wells and watering places from morning to night each day so that they became a part of the landscape. However, the lot of these women seems to be improving with the growing impact of the judicial customs of Strīrājya (Kingdom of women).

According to the document BRS No. 152 the mention of *Koliya* village seems to be as interesting as the association of the tradition of “Kûstana” with Khotan. Evidently the Śākya and the Kolî peoples had settled down in these places fairly early. Then, too, the mention of “Acovinas” (=Ājuh or Ājava) as officers posted at frontier check-posts to transmit information with regard to the attempt to steal camels or other animals of transport on the way and even of infiltration and impending invasions by the enemies,—reminds us of the ancient frontier posts of Aco from which the modern Nepalese word Ājuh derives itself. The system of secret police seems to be very well organised. Transport animals were preferred to foodgrain as rent or taxes, and it was a crime to hide or hold such animals from the knowledge of the Authorities concerned. Although Kāji Nastanta is addressed as Priyadarśana Soṭhaṅga (fairseeing transport officer), yet the orders for handing over Sramaṇa Dharmapriya into the hands of the Sumatas (good officers of merit with clear conscience) shows the degraded conditions of the Buddhist monks during this period.

The emergence of the invisible but practical community of Camaka who believed in Saddharma (true law) :

We have said in Chapters VI and VII how the Yüeh-chih, Kuchians (Kuşhāṇas) and Suvarṇa-gotra (gold-race-origin) peoples were exerting their religious and cultural influence on the peoples of China through the many states of Central Asia. The document BRS No. 165 written by fair-seeing Kāji Kṛṇaya and transport-officer Plipeya to a Brāhmin known by the title and name of Ogu Kīrti Śarmā seems to be important for the reasons that the privileged caste of Kauśik Brāhmins were now getting disciplined and reformed as “SUMATAS” (good and honest men with a clear conscience rather than of conventional learning) in the scheme of “SADDHARMA” (true law). It is remarkable that the honest and militant Khotanese peoples took a very poor view of the Śākya and Kolî Śramaṇas (Buddhist monks) and entrusted them to the charge of the “Sumatas” for the discipline of “UPĀYAKAUŚALYA” (=skill in means—one of the ten perfections of the Bodhisattva) prescribed by the text of the White Lotus Aphorism of true law” (Saddharma-puṇḍarika sūtra). The cognomen Śarmā suggests the pursuit of a peaceful calling same as the cognomen Varmā

(Varmma or Varmān) is associated with the surname of peoples who have taken military professions. Although the Central Asiatic peoples seem to be influenced by the Śākya, Kolî and Kauśik Śramaṇas and Puṇḍits, yet the most important feature of their development was the steady transformation of the intellectual and social bureaucrats as useful and responsible members of society as "Sumatas". It is equally interesting to note that the Central Asiatic peoples had organised a very sound administration based on law and justice. The system of secret police as well as frontier check-posts seems to be efficient. Verbal commands conveyed by trusted messengers carried much greater weight than the messages contained in epistles. This was necessary in those unstable days when documents were dictated under pressure of pain, or for fear that the messengers may be waylaid by the enemies. Only permanent records, laws and conventional matters were preserved in these precious documents. At a time when the Mālava tribes of India were returning to the Vaiṣṇavite cults of the holy Bhāgavata preached by Manu and Dvaipāyana, when the prophetic teachings of Jesus of Nazareth were being adopted by a small community in Nicaea and when the peoples of China were discussing the abstract questions of being and non-being and were being swayed by the anchorites and the mad monks under the influence of the cults of the bizarre and dark learning, the Central Asiatic peoples deserve credit for their scientific approach to the problems of "Saddharma" (true law) and for producing examples of the casteless and classless communities of Cāmakas who distinguished themselves by their devotion to duty, endurance and fearlessness in the face of death rather than learning. So far the world knew very little about the religious and social significance of the documents of Central Asia, some of which we are quoting with our corresponding note for the enlightenment of our readers¹²⁵.

The consolidation of Central Asia under the concept of "Saddharma" (true law) and in the political scheme of Bhaṭṭārakas (fraternal kings) knitted with the bonds of Sthānu-Śiva and Saṃ-Buddha was a very serious matter for the sinful empires of Asia and Europe. We have already seen how a distinct nomadic civilisation under the concept of the Shepherd gods and Mother-goddesses was developing and spreading out from the meeting places of Asia, Africa and Europe ever since the rise of the Śakas (Scythians)

in the political horizon. We have also pointed out in previous chapters how difficult and confusing it is for the student of the history of the Himālayas and Central Asia to understand the ethnic composition of the classical Śaka tribes who appear under a great variety of tribal names to oppose the Aryan Emperors. We have also described the mass marriage customs of the virgins of eight to the belfruit representing Suvarṇakumāra (Golden prince) which freed them from the curse of widowhood ever afterwards. Under the principles and practices of Gaurīdharmā, the various tribes are free to marry, change and intermingle with peoples of different ethnic origin without pride and prejudice. It is, therefore, wrong to regard these nomads as uncivilised men. We have seen how the Central Asiatic nomads, like their Śaka (Aśekines=Aśvakinas=horse riders) predecessors, had grown up with the camels and the horses, and developed novelty in methods of transport and knew the arts of war and peace far better than the urban populations of settled empires. Naturally enough the nomads under the discipline prescribed by the Sumatas seem to be specialising along their own line and capable of supplying the rulers, priests and men of decadent empires with fresh ideas of a community of will among common peoples in place of the old ideas based upon Aryan Revelations and slavish obedience. After the glorious days of the Śakas and the Kuṣhāṇas, there was yet another cloudbank of the Huṇas (Huns) in the Tarim basin who were forming themselves to descend the slopes of the Kuenlun mountains down the course of the Hwang-ho river to attack North-China. It was against these Huṇas that the early emperors of China built their walls to protect their settled population. Successors of the Śakas and the Kuṣhāṇas and precursors of the Turks, Tartars and Mongols, these virile Huṇas began to drift westward and southward, mixing as they came with the kindred peoples of Central Asia who taught them the principles and practices of Saddhatma (true law or doctrine). Compared to the theocracies of the many states of Central Asia under the Bhaṭṭārakas, the empires of Asia and Europe appear to be waiting the impact of the Hunnish hammer to split up their decadent religious, political and social systems. This nomadic civilisation does not seem to be affected by the economic systems of Rome which made life hardly worth-living for the slaves and poor peoples. The rule of justice (Nyāya=justice) prescribed exact measurement of land and the

fixing of rent in cash and kind. The authorities concerned appear to have preserved statistical reports of the number of animals owned; and the standard of exchange seems to be fixed between the buyer and seller by Royal administrators known as "Kitsaistapetayas" under the authority of the "Sumata" or Mahata (=Mahātmā=magistrate). The document No. BRS 661 (from A. Stein's *Serindia*, p. 291, plate XXXVIII) written by the Khotanese king of kings "Hinajha-deva" (commander of armies) Vijitasimha in favour of one of his citizens known by the name of Svarṇarsah seems to be interesting for the determination of the price of camels in the presence of the various types of witnesses in accordance with Rājadharmā (king's law) and for its recognition of the human rights of a man known as Badhaga who belonged to the tribe of Sulika. This inscription has two "Brāhmī scripts" to show its link with the letters of the Gaṇḍakī, and the language is entirely the Prākṛit language common among the peoples of the Himālayas and Central Asia influenced, of course, by local peculiarities. Any Nepali man, woman or child can make a comparative study of our inscriptions of various ages to find how they are epigraphically, linguistically and spiritually related and how practical they are in the day to day dealing between man and man in our work-a-day world. By and large the Prākṛit language of these Central Asiatic documents seems to be a bridge between the ancient language spoken by the historical Buddhas and the transitional Sanskrit language recorded in the inscriptions of Licchavi, Khasa and Gorkhā kingdoms of medieval and modern periods of Nepal.

As for the rule of law, the method of giving "Nyāya" (justice) presupposes the quality of the Daniel who delivers judgment in the name of man and god. We can feel the same spiritual undercurrent in the drive and purpose of the documents of Central Asia and the Licchavi and Khasa inscriptions which have been published by Yogi Shree Naraharinātha and Professors G. Tucci, R. Gnoli and L. Patech. The reforms carried out by King Jayasthiti Malla and King Rāma Shaha bear the stamp of the spiritual urge that characterised the development of the original concept of Saddharma (true law) through all its different forms and manifestations across the centuries¹²⁶.

On the other hand, the inscriptions of the many states of India or the records of China from the first century A. D. seem to be coloured by the

individual peculiarities of the peoples and by the limitations of their respective mythologies, so that both lack the practical aspects of the mental and physical discipline specified in the architectural monuments, sculptures, inscriptions and coins of Nepal from the archaeological discoveries of Kapilavastu down to our own times. In the absence of a theology, the Brāhmannic saint Vātsyāyana and the Chinese saint Chi Tun appear to have suffered from the identical tyranny of abstract ideas to write their respective commentaries on the Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama, which treat of syllogism without "Dṛṣtānta" (examples), so that both are equally useless for practical application. The erotic ideas of the early Yakṣa cults, calculated to awaken the sixth sense latent in all people, degenerate into sexual excesses in their bas-reliefs and sculptures. Unable to understand and grapple with the problems of para-psychology posed by the concept of "Strī-īśvara" (Two-in-one) they were not in a position to follow Yogic practices scientifically calculated to activate the extra-sensory perception in the astro-psychic scheme of death. Limited by the environment of their local culture, the Indian and the Chinese religious leaders and patriarchs appear to have behaved like the COMPUTERS of modern science. Although the COMPUTER represents an advance in man's thinking processes as radical as the invention of writing in the ancient world, yet it is incapable of following the historical development of Dharma-cakra and Kāla-cakra, of feeling and of exercising its independent judgment. The COMPUTER has no sense of creativity and no imagination inspite of its fantastic memory and mathematical ability. Thus we can see that the Indian and the Chinese religious leaders, like the COMPUTERS, do not appear to have understood the real significance of the symbols of the Trident and The Eight-spoked-wheel of law and the milestones of mental development through the path of sensory perception leading to "Saddharma" (true doctrine or law) recorded on the frontons of the Śaka, Kuṣhāṇa and Licchavi Inscriptions as Saṃvatsaras (Millennias) on the wake of Nirvāṇa Era after the Great Passing of Śākyamuni and the consequent Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph to commemorate his death. It is equally remarkable that both the Indian and Chinese religious leaders appear to have made too much of their own wheeling system of philosophy without adequate consideration of a human approach to "Brahmahrndhra" (brain's neurons or grey matter)

through the Yogic practices of sensory perceptions calculated to open the **THIRD EYE OF INNER ILLUMINATION**. Thus, though their thinking and hypnotic processes of working gave them an impressive quantitative advantage over the Yogic principles and practices, they were qualitatively inferior to the Siddhas (perfect ones), Sumatas (men of clear conscience and good judgment), Mahatas (Magistrates) and the Community of the classless and casteless Chāmaka-manusana mentioned in these documents. While the Chinese and the Roman empires grew rich and feasted, and when Indian kings performed pompous horse sacrifices, the spiritual stature of the masses of mankind over the world appears to have decayed. Quite unknown as yet to India and Rome, the Huns and their kins, walled back and driven out from China by the Tsi and Han emperors, were getting disciplined under the Śakas, Pahlavas and Kuṣhāṇas in their own religious scheme of “ Saddharma ” (true law) and were intermarrying and mixing with them to generate a comparatively more virile race to press westward and southward under the name of the Huṇas as the soldiers of God to bring down the structures of decadent empires¹²⁷.

CHAPTER XI

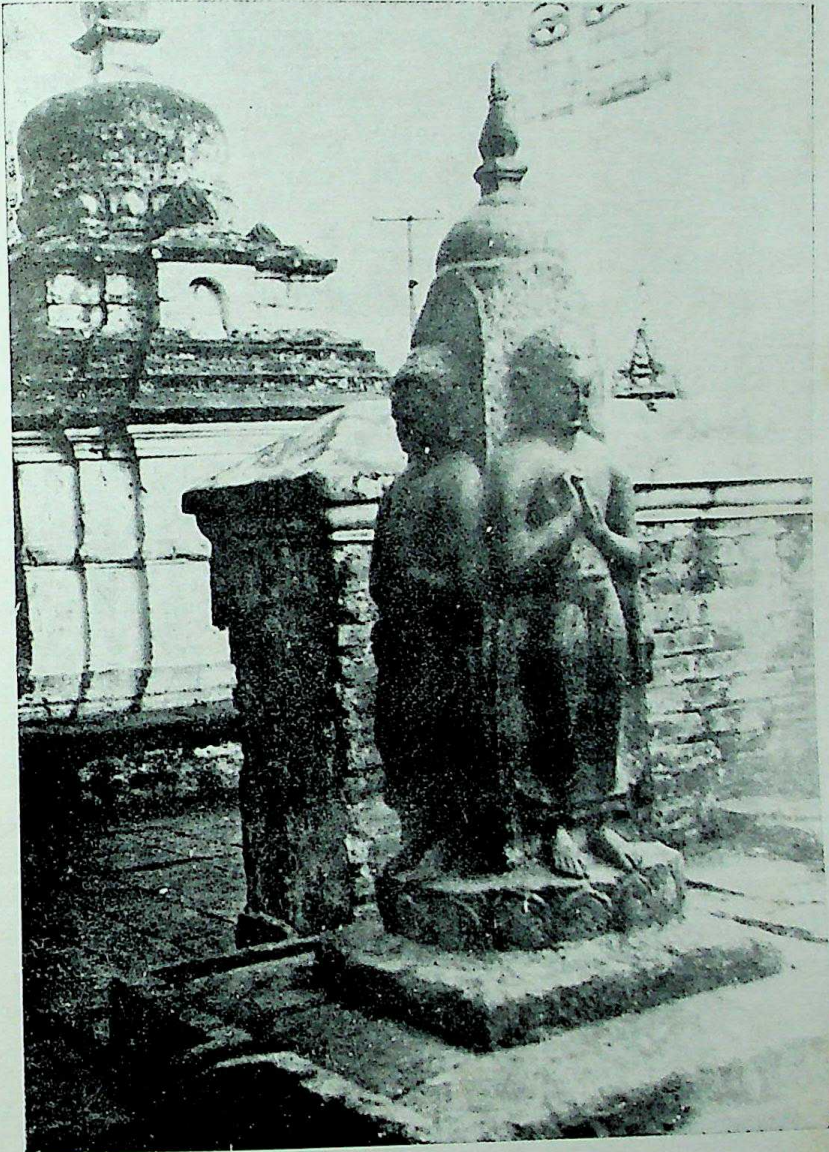
The Brāhmī-script and Prākṛit language as factors in spreading the knowledge of Sumern Culture-Complex with the Śaka Saṃvatas Millennia

We have observed, from a brief survey of the Ceylonese and Central Asiatic documents in the previous chapter, how the Ceylonese Brāhmī and Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī scripts, despite their local peculiarities, do not seem to be confined to the two countries alone. In both the cases, the prehistoric symbols of the Indus-valley as well as the pre-Mauryan records of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-Vase-Epitaph and of Śrāvastī in Prākṛit language obtaining in the states of the Buddhist Himālayas, appear to have provided the points of contact as well as the points of departure in the steady development of the psychological processes associated with the astro-psyhic scheme of Kāla-cakra after the introduction of the Nirvāṇa and Śaka Saṃvatas (Eras). The development of Brāhmī writing, though ununiform, appears, nevertheless, to have brought about a radical change in the thinking processes of the early Śaka (Scythian), Indian, and Ceylonese peoples; and the Śaka Millennia became one of the most important hinges for the renaissance of the Chinese and the South-East-Asian peoples cemented by common ideas upon the basis of Saddharma (true law). These little known facts of history are stranger than the local fictions created by the Pāli-patriarchs of Brahmannic prophets or their Chinese translators. Divorced from the land of its origin, the Pāli-scribes and the Chinese translators, like the Computers of modern science, do not appear to have used their independent judgment or understood the drive and undercurrent of the spiritual impulse which led to the transition of the Nirvāṇa, Śaka, Kaṇiṣhka and Māna-Deva Saṃvatas (Eras) obviously marked out to weld the conflicting elements of religious ideas into a happy whole progressively. Thus, if the Theravādins based themselves on the single-verse confessio-fidei of “ Ye dhammā hetu ” etc. as their perfection of wisdom, the Chinese translators considered Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra to be a masterpiece; and this work remained the most venerated treatise by Chinese scholars on account of its literary qualities and highly abstruse and philosophical disquisitions. Translated by Chih

Ch'ien in about 220 A.D. this book was translated and retranslated seven times with nine commentaries between the beginning of the third and the middle of the seventh century. According to Professor E. Zurcher Chih Ch'ien was also the first Yue-chih (Śaka = Scythian) to translate Sukhāvātī-vyūha (= A-mi-t'o ching T. 185), which, as the fundamental scripture associated with the meditative cult of Buddha Amitābha (Amitāyus), was going to play such a great role in the development of Far Eastern Buddhism. Nepal has many stone Caityas to represent this pure and happy western paradise of Sukhāvātī-vyūha where this Buddha of infinite light and life is sculptured in his attitude of serene meditation. This pure and happy paradise of Amitābha was taken to be the goal of their mortal existence by the adherents of the Pure Land School of China and Japan. We have already observed how the cults of Vairocana and Amitābha were responsible for the transition from Śākyamuni's Eight-Spoked-Wheel of Law to the astro-psychic scheme of Kāla-cakra in Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is remarkable that even Kumārajīva found it impossible to convince the Chinese scholars with the change that had taken place from the Nirvāṇa to the Śaka Saṃvatas (Millennias). Finally when Śākya Buddhahadra from Kapilavastu visited China at the request of Fa-hsien, he had a quarrel with Kumārajīva and was incarcerated for his attempts to preach heresies.

Much the same sectarianism characterised the Gangetic Indian kingdom of the Guptas, where the Brāhmannic influence (briefly mentioned in Chapter VIII) predominated. But we have also referred to the rise and spread of the power of the Huṇas (Huns) and Ābhīras (Āvars) in the political horizon of India, and how they believed in the cult of Sthānu-Śiva and Man-boar incarnation of Viṣṇu in the scheme of Light Deities. Except for the pilaster of Harigāon and the inscriptions of kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, there are no records in the world to testify to the actual faith of the Ābhīras (Āvars) and the Huṇas. One Ābhīra (Āvar) by the name of Anuparama-gupta had put up pillar inscription surmounted by a Vainateya (exactly like the Garuḍa of the Besnagar pillar inscription of the Greek Heliodorous) in the suburb of Kathmandu in honour of the image of holy Vāsudeva (vulgo Satya-Nārāyanā). Thus, though the Greeks and the Maukhāris of Taxila and Rājputānā, were the precursors of Bhāga-vata-dharma (the doctrine of the holy Vāsudeva), yet their teachers were

Plate No. XIX



The nameless Saugatas and Pratyeka Buddhas on the four cardinal compass corners of a stone Caitya to the north of the stūpa of Svayambhunātha over the summit of the historic Go-Śrīṅga hill in the suburbs of Kathmandu.

the Kauśika descendents of the Brāhmannic patriarch Parāsara and his wife Satyavatī. However, the earliest record of Bhāgavata-dharma, as a Smṛti compilation of the Brāhmannic priests and patriarchs vis-a-vis the doctrines of Saugatas, appears in the form of a prayer to Dvaipāyana over the said pilaster of Hargāon in archaic Brāhmī script and Sanskrit language influenced by Prākṛit. A revised reading of this celebrated inscription has been published for international scholars by the ISMEO, Rome (Gnoli No. XI, 1956) in its own scheme of the “ Materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture.” Before we take up a brief scientific survey of this most interesting Inscription in Chapter XIV, it would be useful at this stage to explain how the early Greeks, Maukhāris and Ābhīras understood the Vedic cult of Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva), and how they interpreted it in their Smṛti-compilations (works based on the Recollection and Recognition of the Three Vedas) and how far they presupposed its link with the path of sensory perception propagated by the Śaiva-yogins in their own astro-psychic scheme of Kāla-cakra.

Like Chi Tun's introduction to his “ Eulogy on an image of Śākya-muni ”, this eulogy of Anuparama-gupta is dedicated to the image of holy Vāsudeva associated with the cult of Bhāgavata. We know from relative records that Anuparama-gupta belonged to the community of Ābhīras (Āvars), and he was a staunch follower of the Brāhmannic patriarch Dvaipāyana who composed the Hindu epic of Mahābhārata. The “ Stotra ” (prayer), like the eulogy of Chi Tun, is devoted by Anuparama-gupta to Dvaipāyana who is believed to have understood the mysteries of the Revelations of the Three Vedas (namely, Rīgveda, Sāmveda and Yajurveda) and composed the epic of Mahābhārata with a thorough understanding of the Three Incomprehensible steps of Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva). The Three Vedas, representing the Three Mystical Steps of the Almighty Viṣṇu, are the real Śrutis (Revelations) on which the Smṛti (Recognition or Recollection) works are based. Thus the Hindu, epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, Mānava-dharma-Śāstra (the scripture relating to the laws for the guidance of mankind composed by the Brāhmannic patriarch Manu), the Smārthasūtras (brief aphorisms describing the details of domestic rites and conventional practices), Vedāṅgas (branches of ritual practices stemming from the parent stumps of the Three Vedas) and Nīti-śāstras

(Regulations, both political and economic based upon the writings of Viṣṇu-gupta Chāṇakya of the court of King Chandra-gupta Maurya) and all the Brāhmannic secular literature formed part of the Smṛiti works.

It appears to me that both Chi Tun's Eulogy and Anuparama-gupta's " Stotra " are extremely emotional and devotional, but historically they are uninformative and baseless. Further to Chi Tun's Eulogy, the Brāhmannic patriarchs were most subtle in producing their syllogism without examples as enunciated by Yājñavalka in the court of King Janaka in Mithilā. Unable, however, to bypass the Yogic principles and practices of mental and physical exercises, the Brāhmannic patriarchs appear to have produced the homo-sexual images of Hari-Hara in support of their theory of androgynous God to the exclusion of the current belief in the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati as progenitors. A chronological study of the early Liṅgas, Caityas and images of Nepal tend to show us the points of vanishing interest with the rise of new theories and concepts, and we have manuscripts copied and dated during the regnal years of different dynasties to bear testimony to their faith.

Judging from the vast number of Yogic and Buddhistic compilations, the Manuscript libraries of Nepal have a very poor collection of the Vedic works. The Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣadas (commentaries and elaborations of the philosophical truth of the Vedas) as well as works dealing with Vedic sacrifices are few and far between. So far I have known only one example of a manuscript of " Mīmāṃsā " under the title of " Nyaya-ratnākara " (Ocean of justice) composed by Śhree Chandra in Maithili script and dated in Lakṣmana era, which has nothing to do with the religious development envisaged by Anuparama-gupta's pilaster of Harigāon. On the other hand, we have a number of examples where Nepalese scholars were being invited by the then Indian Universities of Nālanda and Vikramaśīla-vihāra to teach and write books. A Nepalese Professor Ratnākara Śānti appears to have written a book under the title of " Antaravyāpti-samarthana " (अन्तरव्याप्ति समर्थन) on the six " Nyāya-tracts " (logic) namely " Nyāya, Vaisāsika, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Uttara-mīmāṃsā for the enlightenment of the Buddhist scholars of Vikramaśīla-vihāra. Written entirely for the grasp of Indian students, the book totally lacks the historical frame of the Nirvāṇa and Śaka Millennias and of the discipline of Yoga in the practical

administration of justice as we find them in the documents of Nepal and Central Asia. We have preserved this interesting palm-leaf Manuscript in our Library marked III 364 B. This unique book opens with an invocation to Buddha, is written in transitional Licchavi script and closes with a colophone bearing the name of the author.

Generally speaking, the palm-leaf manuscripts written in the Licchavi-characters and the transitional Kuṭilā, Rañjanā, Bhujimo, old Newāri, Maithili and Tibetan alphabets are older than the pulp-paper manuscripts written in Nandī-nāgarī and Devanāgarī scripts. Judging from the occurrence of the earliest-Brāhmī-scripts and Prākṛit language in the intermontane regions of the Himālayas, Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī, there could be little doubt that the earliest Brāhmī appears to have developed between the Indus-valley and the ancient Buddhist and Brāhmannic states of the Himālayas. The very cult of Śākyavardhana and Strī-īśvara among the Śākyas seems to have developed from the cult of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati of the Indus-valley civilisation. The un-Sanskritic place names and customs mentioned in our Licchavi inscriptions also seem to be a legacy of the same Sumeru culture-complex. The earlier language and symbols of the proto-Aryan peoples appear to be transformed progressively by Prākṛit language and Brāhmī scripts of the Indo-Aryan races. Judging from the influence of Prākṛit language in the inscriptions of countries as far apart as Ceylon and Central Asia, Prākṛit had become universal long before Pāli which was the court-language of the kingdom of Magadha. The reformed Sanskrit language was the direct successor to Prākṛit. But Pāli was painstakingly studied by the Himālayan peoples because much of the Lesser-Vehicle-documents were recorded in this language. Although the vast number of our palm-leaf manuscripts deal with Śaivite and Mahāyānist works, it would be useful to take up the so far unpublished Smṛti-compilations to see how they fit into the overall picture of religious development¹²⁸.

Smṛti-manuscripts based upon the Recollection and Recognition of the Vedas :

1. Mānava-dharma-śāstra No. 1475 Ka in Nāgara script is based upon the Brāhmannic laws of Manu for the guidance of humanity, so that men may regulate their religious, social and political functions according to its injunctions.

2. Parāsara-smṛti said to be compiled by the Brāhmannic saint Parā-sara is written in Sanskrit language, Newāri script, complete in 12 chapters and is recorded under No. 1473 Pa (ष). This interesting work describes the solitary hermitage of saint-Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana of Anuparama-gupta's inscription of Harigāon quoted above) as being situated amid the Deva-dāru-forests over the Himālayan heights. This work contains the instructions of Dvaipāyana saying how men should behave with the advent of the evil cycle of Kali-yuga. This book puts the Hindu Golden Age in the Satya-yuga long long ago, when Viṣṇu incarnated himself as the Man-Boar and Man-Lion to put an end to the lives of Hiranyākṣa and Hiranya-Kaśyapa, so that the Earth may be safe for the followers of Vedic Revelations. But judging from the opening invocation to the Elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, this book does not seem to represent the beliefs, hopes and fears even of the Licchavi period. Anuparama-gupta's eulogism is nearer truth than this work, as the former holds Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa) in opposition to the doctrines of the Buddhas, which is also corroborated by the basreliefs and images of the period anterior to the Licchavi period of Nepalese history.

3. Nāradiya-dharmaśāstra (the laws compiled by the Brāhmannic singing saint Nārada) seems to be taken from a book known as Nārada-saṃhitā (collections) forming part of the Mānava-dharma-śāstra (Laws for the guidance of men) attributed to Manu. This book is preserved in Newāri character and Sanskrit language and numbered 1230 Yñ (ण).

4. Mānava-nyāya-śāstraṃ with the explanatory title of " Brahmōkta-dharma-smṛiti " (Religious laws based upon the recognition or recollection of the words spoken by the androgenous four headed Brāhmannic god Brahmā) in the very first stanza, after the colophon, seems to be a copy of the book classified as Nārada-saṃhitā, which is a branch of the Mānava-dharma-śāstra. This interesting book is numbered 1230 Ca (ञ). Nārada is a Brahmannic minstrel popular for his songs and dances and for his invention of the musical instrument of " Vīṇā " with easy access to the world of men and the heaven of the Vedic gods of the sky. Most of his works are considered as an appendix to the works of the Brāhmannic Law Giver Manu. A grandson of the androgenous Four-headed Brahmā, Manu is the Brāhmannic counterpart of the Moses of the Bible. The text is composed of Sanskrit with brief commentaries known as " Nyāya-vikāśinī

(explanation of the point of administering justice) by Mānika in old Newāri language, which is very little understood by the present generation of the Newār community. This book was written during the reign of King Jayasthiti Malla and his wife Rājalla Devī in Nepala-Saṃvata 500 corresponding to 1380 A.D. It is remarkable that Gandharva Tumburu and Nārada are mentioned as learned men in line 27 of the Allahabad inscription of King Samudragupta (Bhandarkar, list, No. 1538).

The object of getting this book copied by Vajrācārya Luṇḍabhadra, a Śākya-vikṣu of the Kīrtipūṇya Mahavihara of the city of Bhādgāon, was to bring the administration of justice in Nepal more on the line of Smṛiti based upon the recognition of the Vedic Revelations than heretofore. The rise of King Jayasthiti Malla with his wife Rājalla Devī to power heralded wide-scale reforms in all spheres of life with the object of bringing the Buddhistic Newārs under the laws of the Brāhmannic priests. On the whole, the Book under review treats of reforms in the administration of justice (Nyāya) on the line of the rules prescribed by the Brāhmannic law-giver Manu vis-a-vis the Buddhistic rules of life known broadly as “ Sugata-śāsana ”. Evidently the conflict between the two ways of life seem to be growing at this period and the two communities seem to be drifting apart.

From inscriptions apart, the most ancient Manuscript of Smṛti compilation extant in our library is an old, worm-eaten and worn out book known as Ratnakāraṇḍika compiled by a Brāhmin known by the name of Droṇa. This Manuscript is numbered 1636 Chha (छ). It opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu and claims to describe Kriyā-vidhāna (Ceremonial practices) prescribed by the Dharma-śāstras (Religious Law Books indited by Manu). It is one of the rarest books dated in the Vaiśākha-śudi (Bright half of the month of Vaiśākha corresponding to April-May) of the Vikrama Saṃvat 1189 (1131-1132 A.D.). Written in the Nāgara script, it is one of the oldest books written in non-Nepali characters and dated like the inscriptions of Maukhāris in Kṛta-era which was not accepted by the people of Nepal so early. The colophon claims that it is a Smṛti-Samuccaya (Collection of Recollections based on Vedic Revelations). As a work dealing with Kriyā-vidhāna, it treats of the rites and ceremonies prescribed in a book known as Vājasaneyā Saṃhitā. We will see in our brief survey

of the Inscription of Harigāon that the Smṛti Compilations were put up by the Ābhīras against the prevalent Buddhistic rules of life. The inscription of the pilaster of Harigāon mentions Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas as the Brāhmannic Law-givers and Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa) as the Compiler of their works. On the other hand, this book mentions the twenty Brāhmannic law-givers as follows : 1. Manu, 2. Yājñyavalka, 3. Atri, 4. Viṣṇu, 5. Harita, 6. Uśana, 7. Aṅgiras, 8. Apasthamba, 9. Yama, 10. Bṛhaspati, 11. Parāsara, 12. Samvarta, 13. Kāṭtyāyana, 14. Dakṣa, 15. Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana), 16. Likhita, 17. Saṅkha, 18. Gautama, 19. Sātātapa and 20. Vaśiṣṭa. Evidently the number of Brāhmannic law-givers appear to have increased considerably between the Fifth and the Twelveth centuries A.D.

But as this book gives the chronological order of the Brāhmannic law-givers, we get some information about the origin and home of Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana of the pilaster of Harigāon). As his name suggests Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa or Veda-vyāsa) was born in an island from the wedlock of Saint Parāsara and Satyavatī who was the daughter of a fisherman playing her dugout in the Kauśikī (vulgo Kōsī) river and helping the pilgrims to cross it. The many small islands formed by the armlets and the tributaries of the Kauśikī rivers were known as Dīpaka or Dvīpa (islands). According to Professor Rhys David's *Buddhist India* quoted in Chapter I, the Brāhmannic compilers of the Upaniṣhadas lived in these solitary islands of Beṇṭhadīpaka. The romance of Parāsara with Satyavatī appears to have begun in these islands to give birth to Dvaipāyana. The forests of the district of Dhankuṭā lorded over by the Sumeru (Mt. Sagarmāthā or Mount Everest region) are full of Devadāru (pine) trees. When he grew up Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana) appears to have set up his hermitage somewhere amid the Devadāru forests at the foothills of the Mahālangur ranges of the Himālayas. More because, this region is adjacent to the ancient Kingdom of King Janaka where the Brāhmannic priest Yājñyavalka held his sway. The mention of Yājñyavalka as the second Brāhmannic Law-giver after Manu seems to be in keeping with the ancient Buddhistic records. It is interesting that the four names obtaining in the Celebrated pilaster of Harigāon namely Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati and Uśana form part of this book though in a different chronological order. All these evidences prove conclusively

that the Videhas of Mithilā and the Kauśikans of Benṭhadipaka were the authors of the Brāhmannic Smṛitis.

The Library also contains a liturgical hand-book known as Daśakarma-paddhati numbered 1536 Ga (ग) for the use of a Brāhmannic priest on the ten indispensable sacraments vis-a-vis the Daśa-vala or the ten sources of the spiritual power of the Buddhists. This book is written in Newāri script and dated Nepala-Saṃvat 296 (1176 A.D.) month of Caitra (March-April) Pūrṇimā (full moon day). Of the twelve-century liturgical works, we may also mention Vivāhakarmasamuccaya (collection of marriage customs) in ten pages,—giving guidance for the performance of marriage ceremonies. This is written in Newāri script and dated N.S. 235 (1135 A.D.) month of Āswīn (Sept-October) of the Bright half of the month, Wednesday. Here Pārvatī—the consort of Śiva—enquires of her husband in a state of sexual ecstasy as to when and how the marriage ceremonies are to be performed, and Śiva tells his consort in his embrace, when and how the marriage ceremony is consummated. It is interesting to note that, according to the story of the Brāhmannic law-giver Dakṣa, the mountain-God Śiva is notorious for his infringement of the Brāhmannic marital customs. The Brāhmannic ingenuity to use the rebellious Śiva and Pārvatī to explain the marriage rules of Mānavadharmasāstra seems to be peculiar in its own particular way. Coming to the 13th century liturgical works in our Manuscript Library, such works as “ Ananta-vrata-vidhi ” dealing with rituals in the observation of fasting dedicated to the Serpent of Eternity No. 1320 Ja (ज) dated N.S. 405 (1285 A.D.) and Pratiṣṭhā-paddhati No. 1633 Jha (ञ) dated N.S. 396 (1276 A.D.) deserve some consideration for their attempts to synthesise orthodox Brāhmannism with the Tantras as of yore. The latter work opens with an invocation to Śiva, and not to the Elephant-headed Gaṇeśa for protection and salvation and claims to prescribe appropriate ceremonies for the esoteric practice of “ Āgama ” vis-a-vis Nigama (Sun-worship). It is interesting to note that this book is written by Kāyastha Puṇḍit Dayāharsha in the month of Kārtika (October-November) dedicated to the worship of “ Anantanāga ” during the reign of King Ananta Malla. It consists of sixty four palm-leaf pages.

Another liturgical work known as Sandhyā-vidhi gives details as to the routine performance of duties every evening. This is usually committed

to memory. The M/s is numberd 1320 Gña (ॐ), dated N. S. 401 (1281 A.D.) and is preserved in Newāri script. Yet another liturgical work known as Pārvaṇa Śrāddha deals with the rituals for the propitiation of the Dead-spirits during the full moon and the new moon days. This Manuscript bears the number 772 Gña (ॐ), consists of 14 palm leaves, is written in old Bengali script and dated Lakṣmaṇa Śaṃvat 171 (1290 A.D.). Evidently this type of work is of foreign inspiration and gives a glimpse of the hopes and fears of the Bengali people during the 13th century A.D. And though the Nepalese people seem to be translating works from Bengal, there seems to be adequate contact with such Kashmiri writers as Goṇa of the 11th century A.D.

Of the more important works, a palm leaf manuscript known as Kriyā-kāṇḍakramāvali by a Nepalese author known as Śoma-Śambhu in Newāri script is also a ritualistic work dealing with the daily routine of the Śaiva sect in N.S. 326 (1206 A.D.). This Manuscript seems to be copied during the reign of King Ari Malla-deva and it opens with an invocation to Śiva and proceeds with a description of the Yogic exercises to be performed as we shake off our slumber and wake up in the morning. The author describes himself as the disciple of a person known by the name of Śiva who was a disciple of Vimaleśa, and further that Vimaleśa was a disciple of the celebrated Kashmiri writer Goṇa. Judging from Professor Buhler's Kashmir report (page 77) the original Manuscript of this ritualistic treatise seems to be compiled in 1073 by a Śaiva Siddha (Perfect one) known by the name of Goṇa. This is a proof of the fact that Nepal had not lost touch with the North-western neighbours inspite of the increasing influence from the south.

Sugatisopāna No. 1320 Ga (ॐ) is a very important work on Smṛti in Maithili characters copied by Thakkura Śhree Mati Śharmā of Lalitapattana (Lalitpur) Nepal in Lakṣmaṇa Śaṃvata 224 (1340 A.D.). Evidently the scribe hailed from the adjacent city of Janakpur and he attributes the authorship of the book to Mahārāja Dhirāja Gaṇeśvara without letting us know of which country he was the King of Kings. The Manuscript opens with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa and claims to deal with the gists of the Vedas, Smṛiti and purāṇas (Brāhmannic legends) in order to counteract the influence of the celebrated works on Buddhānusmṛitis current in Nepal.

Shree-datta-paddhati 1320 Ga (ग) is a Smṛiti work of great antiquity. It is written in Maithili character and dated L.S. 299 (1414 A.D.). The book seems to be an adaptation by the author Shree—datta of original work known as Ēkāgnidānapaddhati (एकाग्नि दान पद्धति) underlining regulations for the propitiatory ceremonies and gifts of the sole pillar of fire in our night of existence. The book opens with an invocation to Śiva accompanied by the praise of King Śhree-deva Simha as a man conversant with the Vedas, Vyākaraṇa (grammar), poetics and astrology. But unlike the Śaivite Ānāpānasmṛti-sūtra dealing with the technique of breathing and self-control, this work on Smṛiti deals with the various rituals and ceremonies connected with Mahādāna (Great gifts) of an Iron-man with the attendant propitiatory gifts in cash and kind to the Brāhmins. On reading an account of these hide-bound ceremonies concerned with these Āvasatha sacrifices, one has the feeling that the days of practical self-culture and science, such as we find in the psychological Tantras, seem to be dead as Dido.

On the line of Shree-datta-paddhati, we have “Mahādānanirṇaya” (महादान निर्णय) No. 1114 Kha (ख) dealing with the performance of the similar type of Āvastha sacrifice known as “Tulāpuruṣa” (तुलापुरुष). The book is attributed to Rājā Bhairavendra under the guidance of Vācaspati. It is written in Maithili character in L. S. 392 (about 1506 A.D.) and opens with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa. But more important than its contents, the book is useful for the historical information it provides regarding the origin of the clans of the so-called Śrotriya dynasty of Mithila and how they were encouraging the Maithil Brāhmins to write books on the merits of the performance of Iron-Man sacrifices and of making and receiving gifts like the Yue chih with their. Golden Man mentioned in chapter VI.

An earlier Manuscript than the Mahādānanirṇaya is the Vratapaddhati (rule of fasting) by Rudradhara of Mithila. It was copied by Subhādhara in L.S. 344 (about 1458 A.D.). This Manuscript is numbered 1583 Jha (झ). Two Smṛiti works known as “Dānavākyaṇī” (दानवाक्यवलि) by Vidyāpati of Mithilā deal with “Saṃskāras” (ritual performance) of all types. These two Manuscripts are numbered 910 Ga (ग) and 1320 Kha (ख) and are dated L.S. 512 and 395 respectively. Evidently the

Maithil Brāhmins were introducing a whole crowd of astrologers, priests and charlatans to Nepal along with these Smṛti compilations.

Vividhavidyāvicāracatura (विविध विद्या विचार चतुर) meaning a clever treatise dealing with various rituals) is a complete manuscript on the propitiation of angry Divinities and the bringing of prosperity to men. It deals with the merit of performing ten thousand, hundred thousand and a million “ Homas ” (offerings of grain and ghee to the sacrificial fire with appropriate repetition of spells) and concludes with the ceremonies associated with the consecration of water-conduits, ponds and wells. Attributed to Bhoja deva this Manuscript can be classified as a Paddhati dealing with rituals and ceremonies and dated in L. S. 372. This Manuscript bears the number 1506 Kha (ख).

Smṛti-paribhāṣā (स्मृति परिभाषा) meaning definition of Smṛti No. 1077 Ka (क) dated L.S. 388 by Vardhamāna seems to be a useful treatise which defines the technical terms contained in the ancient Smṛtis (Recollection or Recognition). As a Chief-justice in the court of Rājā Rāmabhadra of Mithila, he was competent to define the legal implications of the technical terms in yet another interesting work known as Paribhāṣā-viveka (परिभाषा विवेक) or in other words analytical study of the technical terms and definitions.

A Manuscript known as Vivādacandra (विवाद चन्द्र) No. 1280 Ṭa (ट) by Miśāru Miśra seems to be in the nature of a dialectics of the Smṛtis. This book is more important for the historical information it provides for the origin of King Harisimha deva as belonging to the Śrotriya dynasty of Mithilā. This document totally refutes the genalogical table put up by King Pratāpa Malla to the effect that the fugitive King of Simarāungadh from the attack of Samsuddin was in any way related to the so-called solar dynasty of the Ikṣhvākus of Āndhradeśa mentioned in Chapter IX of this book. The historians of Nepal have totally refuted the so-called invasion of the valley of Nepal by King Harisimha deva of Simaraungadh and they have proved that he was a helpless fugitive from the Islamic invasion rather than an invader.

More because our Manuscript Library also preserves a Smṛti compilation known as Vivādaratnākara (विवाद रत्नाकर) by Caṇḍeśvara—the notorious Minister of Harisimha deva who seems to be responsible for

making the confusion of the history of Nepal worse confounded by his lies. The Vivādaratnākara, which means “an ocean of dialectical hair-splittings” is a true index to the nature of this misguided Minister of Harisimha-deva known by the name of Caṇḍeśvara.

Among comparatively recent works of importance may be mentioned Nirṇayārka (निर्णयार्क) meaning the Sun of Decisions No. (2) 73 by a Puṇḍit of the Court of the Gorkhā King Rājendra Vikram Shah deva. This is in the nature of legal codification undertaken by the Gorkhā Kings Drabya Shāha and Rāma Shāha. The work opens with an invocation to the Elephant headed God Gaṇeśa and the author claims in his introduction to have made an extensive study of Nirṇaya (निर्णय) books or in other words, books dealing with case-decisions and codifications, such as Kṛtyaratnāvali (कृत्यरत्नावलि) meaning Jewels of case-decisions, Kāla-mādhava (काल माधव) composed by Mādhavācārya, Nirṇayāmṛta (निर्णयामृत) meaning nectar or elixir of decisions and the like Sanskritic works. It was these practical application of the Smṛti works, against the background of the tradition of Nepal, that made the principality of Gorkhā and the Gorkha Kings so famous for their administration of justice. Such Smṛti Manuscripts as Vivādacintāmaṇi (विवाद चिन्तामणि) meaning wishfulfilling jewel of dialectics, and Dvaita-Nārāyaṇa (द्वैत नारायण) No. 1648 Chha (छ) and 12 Ka (क) by Vācaspati are examples of a tendency to practical application of Brāhmānnic Smṛti also in Bengal. Saroja-kalikā (सरोज कलिका) meaning sprouting of lotus No. 1077 Tha (ठ) in Bengali characters is unique for the reason that this Manuscript opens with an Invocation to Him (Namastasmai=नमस्तस्मै). This form of Invocation to God without naming any Sectarian pantheon in the administration of oath and justice is a unique feature which has become very popular in Nepal. All the Sanskritic expressions used in this fragment of Saroja-kalikā do not seem to be quoted from any early source. This amply testifies to the fact that the work is copied from a very ancient source or that the author is extremely original.

Dharma-sāra (धर्मसार) meaning the quintessence of religious law composed by Puruṣottama seems to be copied in Nāgara characters by a scribe known by the name of Balabhadra Ojbā and his son of the Village Patāndāga in the Śaka Saṃvata 1607 (1685 A.D.). The work opens with an invo-

cation to the Elephant God of good omen Gaṇesa and seems to be based on Smṛtis and Purāṇas. It is one of the earliest works on Dharma (religious duties as the Brāhmins understood the term) with illustrations from the Brāhmannic fables known as the Purāṇas. The author pays a tribute to Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana)—the son of Saint Parāśara and Satyavatī on the line of the “Stotra” (eulogy) contained in Anuparama’s Inscription of Harigāon. This work is marked No. 1403. Dharma-tattvaprakāśa (धर्म तत्त्व प्रकाश=meaning the elucidation of the essence of Brāhmannic religious law) in Nāgara characters and incorrect Sanskrit, marked No. 1500, is a book of the same nature as Dharma-sāra. The author known as Śivacaturdaśa is believed to be the inhabitant of Paithāna by the bank of river Godāvarī in South India. This shows a close connection between the Maithilas and the inhabitants of the region of Godāvarī, which may account for the occurrence of South-Indian tradition in the principality of Simaraungadh.

“Dāna-vākya-samuccaya” (दान वाक्य समुच्चय meaning a collection of the wordings in the act of making gifts to the Brāhmins) by Yogiśvara is a very interesting work giving details about the position of sitting, the ingredients necessary for the propitiation of angry planetary deities, and quoting formulas for making appropriate gifts to the priestly order of the Dvijas (the twice-born). The work was copied in N.S. 848 and preserved under No. 1606 Ka (क). Judging from the fact that this book was quoted in a Manuscript known as “Bhoja-deva-saṁgraha” (भोजदेव संग्रह meaning the Collections of Bhoja Deva) dated Śaka Saṁvata 1297 (1375 A.D.) the original may go back to the period of the Western Śaka kings mentioned in Chapter VIII. This Manuscript in our Collection is written in Nāgara characters.

Tithyādinirṇaya (तिथ्यादिनिर्णय meaning the determination of the auspicious moments for the performance of religious duties) deals with the rites for the propitiation of the “Pretas” (ghosts) on their journey to Yama-loka (Brāhmannic version of Hell or Hades) by resort to Daśa-dāna (दश दान meaning ten kinds of gifts to the Brāhmins at the death-bed of a patient), and to Vṛṣotsarga (वृषोत्सर्ग signifying the ceremony of setting the Bull at large by branding it); and with finding auspicious moment for the performance of the like rites. Except in the last

question of determining the auspicious date for the performance of the ceremonies after death, the title of the book does not justify its contents. Padmanābha, the author of this book—would have done better to give the title of “Pretakṛtyanirṇaya” (प्रेत कृत्य निर्णय meaning description of the rites for the propitiation of the Ghosts) than the inappropriate title he has chosen for his book. This book was written in N.S. 827 (1707 A.D.) in Nāgara characters. It bears the No. 1294 in our Manuscript library.

Dānapradīpa (दान प्रदीप meaning the Light of gifts) treats of the ceremonies concerning the gift of a city and the appropriate donations to be made to the sacred order of Brāhmannic priests on such an occasion. Once the principle, that the gifts made to the sacred order of the Brāhmins on our side of the grave brought a reward in Heaven after death, was recognised, there could be no limit to the material demand of the priests, so that their faithfuls may merit redoubled comforts in the Heaven of their fancy. This book opens with an invocation to the Elephant headed Gaṇeśa of good omen and is written in Maithila characters. The date of this book is missing and the author—Mādhava by name—claims that his forefathers came from the Gurjāra Country (Gujerat). The Manuscript bears the Number 1238.

An account of the daily routine of life as prescribed by the Smṛti makers :

“Ācāradīpaka” (आचार दीपक meaning the light-finder to the daily round of duties) copied in Śāka Era 1674 (1752 A.D.) by Śivadharmā and Bhuvaneśa in Nāgara characters, deals with the daily round of Ācāra (functions) as prescribed by the Smṛti works. This Manuscript No. 1500 describes (1) the process of thinking of self with the waking at the dawn of day; (2) the correct way of making micturition; (3) of evacuation and (4) of cleaning the teeth by linking the sacred thread with the ear and regulating the regular calls of nature by the appropriate repetition of spells.

On the line of “Ānāpānasmr̥ti” (अनापान स्मृति) the Book deals with the technique of inhalation and exhalation or having breathing exercises, of having morning ablutions, of putting on the Tīkā (sacred marks on the forehead), and of putting on clothes for going about the daily round

of duties. Then it takes up the various rituals to be performed at the close of day. The book also lays down rules for making obeisances with intricate interlacings and plays of the fingers and of bowing down with folded palms, of reciting the scriptures for heralding the auspicious moments, of the rites to offer Pujās (prayers accompanied by the sprinkling of vermillion, flowers, rice-grain, water and incenses) to the household gods, of the rules of reading scriptures, of the rudimentary practices of Yoga (self-discipline), of the rituals connected with the performance of the morning ablutions and offering Tarpaṇa (water accompanied by prayers), of the process of worshipping the local deities, of the rites connected with the performance of the Homas (offerings to the fire), sacrifices and Śhrāddhas (in memory of the dead ancestors) by evoking appropriate deities supposed to be capable of communicating with the ghosts , and of all and sundry rites to be performed morning, noon and night for eating, drinking and playing. Finally the book also prescribes rules for retiring to bed and mating and also for getting release from the sin of contamination with women. Opening with the usual invocation to the Elephant-headed Ganeśa, the Author praises his patron's pride of lineage and the merits of his family in the colophon and closes with such hidebound routines as to make life impossible for those who claimed to follow them. By the subterfuge of such a strange amalgam of religious ideas, the Brāhmannic priests made the people pay for all the rituals and ceremonies prescribed from the cradle to the grave. On the other hand, it was quite common for these priests to hold extensive Birtās (tax-free lands), control cities, maintain harems and avoid capital punishments. The Smṛti was the source for legal judgments and upon it rested all the wisdom of the Brāhmannic scholars. Not content with making life a matter of impossible routine, the Smṛti makers conjured dreadful visions of Hell, threatened the dying with the dread of further baleful journeys to the Great Beyond after death, so that they may extort " Dāna " (gifts) for his relief.

Criticism :

Inspite of the impact of the Smṛti works, the Nepalese people preserved their ancient heritage sculptures, bas-reliefs, and their cycles of the cults of Sthānu-Śiva and the stūpa; and they also actively took part in the bodily

and mental exercises serving as a preparation to the various stages of Dhyāna (trances), which brought the individual with the higher stages of existence known as “Bhavāgra” (भवआग्रा) meaning the limits of the world) from the Rûpa-dhātu (रूपधातु meaning the form-world) contained in such works as “Yogācārabhūmi” (योगाचार भूमि), Mahānidāna-sūtra (महानिदान सूत्र), Ānāpāna-smṛti-sūtra (आनापान स्मृति सूत्र), Skandhādhatv-āyatana-sūtra (स्कन्धाधातवायतन सूत्र), Saddharmapūṇḍa-rīka-sūtra (सद्धर्म-पूण्डरीक सूत्र), Uṣṇiṣavijaya-dhāraṇī sūtra (उष्णिषविजय धारणी सूत्र), the Vyūha literature such as Kāraṇḍa-vyūha (कारण्ड व्यूह) and the Prajñāpāramitās (प्रज्ञापारमिता) consequent upon the impact of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph and the inception of the Śaka Era with all its religious implications. By far the largest number of monuments and the volumes of scriptures tend to emphasise the development of the spiritual ideas, so that the few Smṛti works from without, though they ruffled the surface, could not, however, change the current. It was because of this undying faith of man in the ultimate best in human affairs, that Nepal has produced examples of men in flesh and blood to defeat the unfounded theories based upon the Smṛtis.

Catalogue of a few remaining Smṛti works imported from without :

Pratiṣṭhā-tattvam (प्रतिष्ठा तत्त्वम्) No. 1536 Gha (घ) in Bengali characters and dated Śaka year 1537 (1615 A. D.) month of Phālguna (February-March) Śukla-pratipattithau (शुक्ल प्रतिपत्तिथौ) meaning first day of lunation after the dark half of the month) Friday, is one of the standard Smṛti digests of Bengal. Raghunandana—the author of this digest, bases his work on the like treatise known as Haribhakti-vilāsa (हरी भक्ति विलास) meaning a work dedicated to the devotion of Hari) by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in 1562 A. D. Preta-mañjari (प्रेत मंजरी) is a short digest of the cremation practices and the funeral rites obtaining in Nepal. This book is written in Nāgari characters, dated N. S. 827 (1707 A. D.) month of Vaiśākha (April-May) Śudi 12 (Bright 12) and bears the No. 1269. This work, though written in Nāgari characters, does not seem to be based upon any Indian works.

Brāhmaṇārthaprakāśa (ब्राह्मणार्थ प्रकाश No. (2) 112) by Haradatta explains the meaning of the word “Brāhmaṇa” in the context of the Vedic

literature and the Vedāṅgas (Branches of the Vedas). The work opens as usual with an Invocation to the Elephant god of auspices Gaṇeśa, and the Author identifies his Guru, namely, Puruṣottama with Sarasvatī—the Goddess of Learning, so that this treatise may have the Divine sanction for his definition of the term “Brāhmaṇa.”

Madanaratnepradīpe-prāyascittodyotah (मदन रत्न प्रदीपे प्रायश्चित्तोद्योतः) No. 1236) is a complete digest of the religious and civil laws based upon Smṛti. Originally this voluminous code seems to be compiled by a Gurjāra Brāhmaṇa of the Śrīmāli clan. The work opens with an invocation to the Elephant god of auspices Gaṇeśa and to the Goddess of Learning Sarasvatī. It is dated N. S. 848 (1728 A. D.) month of Bhādrapada-śūdi (Bright August-Sept.) 12 Wednesday. The patronage of this Manuscript is attributed to Madana Simha (Motāna Lomo of the Annals of China). Foreign historians had speculated as to the actual identity of Motāna Lomo till the latest discovery of some inscriptions of the Malla period which leaves no more ground for doubt that he was no other than a man of Nepalese origin. In a way this Manuscript also confirms the record of our recently discovered Malla-period inscription as to the actual identity of Madana Simha.

Manuscripts in the context of the White Yajur-veda : (शुक्ल यजुर्वेद)

Vājasaneyināmahorātrasita dharma-nivandha (वाज सनेयिनामहोरात्रसित धर्म निवन्ध No. 1820 Dha (ध) is an incomplete essay of a Smṛti work dealing with the daily ritual performances of the Professors of the cult of the White Yajurveda. The work opens with an invocation to the Vedic God Viṣṇu of the immeasurable and unfathomable Three Steps mentioned in Ṛgveda; and it is a treatise on the Vaiṣṇavite Ācāra (customary practices associated with the cult of Viṣṇu).

Viramitrodayah Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa (वीर मित्रोदय व्यवहार काण्ड) by Miśra is a Smṛti work in Nāgara characters and dated Saṃvat 1876 without specifying whether it is Śaka or Vikrama Era. Usually the Brāhmins do not popularise the Śaka Era.

Śivarātri-vidhānam (शिवरात्री विधानम्) No. 1508 Ja (ज) associated with the observance of fasting and keeping vigil over the night Mahārātri, is based on Padma-purāṇa (the ancient legend of the Lotus).

This festival falls sometime in the first week of the month Phālguna (February) and is celebrated with feu-de-joie in Nepal. Mahārātrī means the Great Night, when the Śaivite principles and practices of Kāla-cakra was accepted by the Vaiṣṇavites. It was on this Great Night that the lies of the androgenous four headed Brāhmannic god Brahmā were detected, where Kāmadhenu (the Cow) bore false witness. Two other nights namely, Kālarātrī (the Night of Kāla or Time) with the advent of the Harvest festival of Dasain and Moha-rātrī (the Night of false hopes) dedicated to the worship of Lakṣmī (the Goddess of Wealth) and associated with gambling are observed with public holidays.

Saptami-vrata-kathā (सप्तमि व्रत कथा) associated with the observance of fasting on the seventh day of each Pakṣa (fortnight both dark and bright) recognises the blessings of fasting and abstinence to build up our character. The peculiarity of this Manuscript consists in the fact that the date is expressed in Anuṣṭupa-metre signifying the N. S. 503 (1383 A. D.). Evidently Nepal recognised the merit of fasting and abstinence as much in the 14th century as in the days of the Vedic saints and the Buddhas.

This interesting Manuscript bears the Number 1645 Na (न).

A Manuscript known as "Sārasaṃgraha" (सारसंग्रह) meaning collection of quintessences dated N. S. 375 (1255 A. D.) and No. 1330 Ka (क) seems to have formed part of a so-far unknown work entitled "Veda-Vaiṣṇava-siddhāntarahasya" (वेद वैष्णव सिद्धान्त रहस्य) signifying the secrets of the Vedic and the Vaiṣṇavite principles. This Manuscript treats of such topics as "Lakṣa-homa" meaning hundred thousand offerings to "Yajña" (यज्ञ sacrificial altar). We have already stated in Chapter V how the concept of Yoga (self-discipline) and Yajna (sacrifices) were the contributions of the Sumeru Culture Complex of the Indus Valley associated with the cult of Paśupati and of the Great Mother Goddess. This book seems to indicate an important stage in the process of the absorption of the astro-psychic theory of Kāla-cakra into the Revelatory cult of Viṣṇu. We see this process at work in very early Vaiṣṇavite images of Dhumvārāḥa (Man-Boar see Chapter XVI) and Narasiṃha (Man-Lion) with the symbols of the Jewel and the Lotus. Such Manuscripts give us the idea that the Brāhmins were relenting even in these dark periods when

we find no evidence of critical or comparative studies of the scientific documents of yore.

Vājasaneyinām-vivāhādipaddhati (वाजस नेयिनां विवाहादि पद्धति) No. 1634 Gñā (ङ) dated L. S. 414 in Maithilā characters, deals with the observance of marriage rituals and ceremonies as prescribed by the Professors of the School known as Śukla-yajurveda (शुक्ल यजुर्वेद White Yajurveda). This work is held in high esteem by the adherents of the principles and practices of the White Yajurveda (शुक्ल यजुर्वेद) in Nepal and also all over India. This appears to be an original work executed in the Nepalese city of Janakpur situated in the district of Mahottari (ancient Mithilā). Agastya-vrata-vidhānam (अगस्त्य व्रत विधानम्) No. 1363 Jha (झ) is a fragment in four pages in Newāri script. It opens with an invocation to Brahmā and deals with the ceremonial rites associated with the fast of the pot-bellied, locust-hungry and ever-angry Brāhmannic saint Agastya. I was interested to find representation of the images of Agastya in the Museum of Djakarta in Indonesia.

Ekādaśī-vrata-mahātmyam (एकादशी व्रत महात्म्यम्) Nos. 1203, 1230 Ÿa (यं) and 1559 chha (छ) deal with the origin and merit of the fast undertaken by the Hindu faithfuls on the Eleventh Day of the Dark or Bright Pakṣa (every fortnight) according to the Hindu Calendar. Manuscript No 1203 expresses the date of N. S. 553 (1433 A. D.) in verse on the principle of the dictum "Añkasya-vāmogatih" meaning the numerals are to be read from right to left even as the Arabic and the Urdu numerals and characters. Manuscript No. 1230 Ÿa (यं) is dated N. S. 400 (1280 A. D.) during the reign of King Ananta Malla and 1559 Chha (छ) does not carry any date of its compilation. All the three Manuscripts are written in Newāri scripts.

Kāṇvāyana-śrāddha-vidhiḥ (काण्वायन श्राद्ध विधि) No. 1320 Gha (घ) is a fragment in 12 pages written in Nevāri characters dealing with the rituals associated with the performance of the death anniversaries as prescribed by the professors of the Kāṇva barnch of White Yajurveda (शुक्ल यजुर्वेद). Dūrgārcana-kalpataru (दुर्गार्चन कल्पतरु) No. (2) 110 by Śhree Lakṣmipati Śharma in Devanāgri characters is a unique work dealing in ten chapters with all and sundry ritualistic performances associated with Smṛtis. Written during the victorious reign of the revolutionary Gorkhā

King Raṇa Bahādur Shāha Deva the Manuscript opens with an invocation to the Elephant headed god of auspices Gaṇesa and recounts the ancient rituals associated with worship of Durgā-Mahiṣamardinî—the Goddess of War. Complete in ten Kusumas (chapters) consisting of 1,775 Ślokas (verses), this work describes the victories of King Raṇa Bahadur Shāha Deva over Cīna (the Chinese), Mithilā (please note that the Bajjians or the Bājis or Brijjis of the ancient Republic Bajji were treated as the same people as the Videhas of Mithila described in Chapter I), Kāmarūpa Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kālīṅga, Kuru, Maru and Yavana. Evidently this refers to the war of the Gorkhā king with the British power, who had held all these countries. The Book is not correct grammatically like most of the inscriptions of the victorious Gorkha Kings. The inscriptions of the Gorkha Kings available to us bear ample testimony to the claim contained in this Manuscript. We would be taking up the Judicial reforms carried out by the Kings of the Gorkha dynasty with reference to their inscription in the subsequent volume of Modern Nepal.

Kālamādhava-kārikā-vyākhyānam (काल माधव - कारिका - व्याख्यानम्) No. 1294 by Vaidyanātha Suri is a commentary on the “Kārikās” (case descriptions) based on the works of Professor Mādhavācārya on the determination of appropriate and auspicious date and time for the performance of various ceremonies. The works entitled Kālamādhava may be correctly delineated as “Kālanīrṇaya” dealing with the determination of appropriate auspicious moments and dates by reference to astrology. We know nothing about the author of these “Kārikās” which consist of 990 verses in Nāgara characters. It opens with an invocation to the Elephant headed god of auspices “Shree Mahāgaṇapati.” Most of the prose in which the verses have been explained is grammatically incorrect. Evidently the authors of these “Kārikās” were practical people who had no literary training according to the high Sanskrit standards. The colophon closes with the glorification of the Visvaiśvara-līṅga of Kāsi (Banaras). “Kuśuṇḍikā” (कुशुण्डिका No. 1473 ण) is, perhaps the shortest work describing in general terms the offerings of “Homa” (होम) for all and sundry religious ceremonies.

Vyavahārapradīpa (व्यवहार प्रदीप) No. 1412 by Kṛiṣṇa is a work of elementary astronomy on the determination of the date and auspicious

moment for puncturing holes on children's ears, for beginning their education and the like functions as prescribed in the Smṛtis. Although this work is comparatively more correct grammatically than the "Kārikās" described above, yet the author points out modestly, that *in* such scientific works as Jyotiṣa (astronomy), Tantras (psychology), Siddhāntas (determination of principles) and Vaidyakas (medical practices) the accurate expression to convey the correct meaning is more important than the grammatical accuracy. This Manuscript consists of 1200 Ślokas (verses) in Maithili script.

Śudhādīpikā (शुद्धदीपिका No. 1500) is a liturgical work of little value by Durga Datta in Newārī characters dealing with the proper style of repeating the Gāyatrī (the esoteric spell to be repeated morning, day and night). The Manuscript opens with an invocation to Brahmā, consists of 180 verses and the author claims that it is summary of an unknown Smṛti known as Prapañcasāra (प्रपञ्चसार).

Padmanābhasaṁgraha (पद्मनाभ संग्रह No. III. 360 G) in Bengali language and characters by Padmanābha deals with funeral rites and lunar days. Dated N. S. 366 (1246 A. D.) the Manuscript opens with an Invocation to Mahādeva (the great God Śiva) and the collection seems to be compiled at Banaras with quotations from the authors of Saṁhitās and Ṛsis based upon the Smṛti works of Śāktāyana and Kātyāyana who do not occur among the twenty Patriarchs of Smṛti already mentioned. They are Buddhistic patriarchs. Against the background of the Pilaster of Harigāon and some references to the Vedic works in our Licchavi inscriptions, a comparative stud of this Manuscript with III 397 D and 1294 A affords interesting possibilities for research in this important field of Smṛti works :

A comparative study of the works of Yogīśvara and Padmanābha :

Yogīśvara - Padmanābha - Saṁgrahau (योगीश्वर पद्मनाभ संग्रहौ No. III 397 D) meaning collected works of Yogīśvara and Padmanābha is dated N. S. 540 (1420 A. D.) and copied in Newārī characters. The colophon of Manuscript No 1294 dated N. S., 827 (1707 A. D.) namely Pretakṛtya (प्रेतकृत्य meaning rituals to be performed for the propitiation of ghosts written under the wrong title of Tithyādinīṛṇaya already discussed) men-

tions that the work was compiled by a Brāhmin of the city of Banaras in the United Provinces of India known by the names of Upādhyāya Padmanābha and Yogīśvara. On the other hand, the colophon of the Manuscript specially the section on “Sarvasūtinīrṇaya” (सर्वसूतिनीर्णय vulgo सूतक) meaning determination of the rites of purification associated with the birth of babies, attributes the compilation of the texts from pages 1-23 to Yogīśvara. It now becomes evident that Padmanābha and Yogīśvara jointly compiled this collection in two sections dealing with the ceremonies of birth and death based upon ancient Smṛti-sāṃhitās. On and from palm leaf 24 to its end the Manuscript under review describes the details of funeral rites and death anniversaries to be performed on the basis of the Smṛti works of the Brāhmannic Patriarch Manu. Judging from the arrangements of the materials, Yogīśvara compiled the section associated with the ceremonies of child-birth while Padmanābha did the section on funeral rites and death anniversaries.

The mention of entirely new names of the Patriarchs of Smṛti works is a unique feature of the works of Padmanābha and Yogīśvara :

With reference to Manuscript III 360 G we have mentioned how Upadhyāya Padmanābha quotes such Smṛti-makers as Śāktāyana and Kārṣṇājini who do not figure in the record of the Pilaster of Harigāon. Even King Vasantadeva's Inscription of Khapinchhé Lalitpur adds only one name of Maharṣi (Great Sage) Vaiśampāyana to the list of Anuparama's eulogy to Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa) during the fifth and the early sixth century A. D. Nepal.¹²⁹ But Yogīśvara and Padmanābha in their Manuscripts quote from such Authorities of Smṛti as (1) Pracetāḥ, (2) Vṛddha Pracetāḥ (Pracetāḥ the Elder), (3) Garga, (4) Kārṣṇājini, (5) Bhṛgu, (6) Mārīci, (7) Pulaṣṭya, (8) Sāktyāyāna and (9) Vārtikakara. None of these Smṛti-makers appear in the list of Anuparama or of the twenty Smṛti-makers mentioned by Yājñavalkya.

It is interesting to note that Anuparama in his inscription of the pilaster of Harigāon opens with an attack upon the scientific and atheistical paths prescribed by the Saugataḥ (the historical Buddhas) on the historic basis of Bhārata compiled by Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa). The other categorical reference of the Vedic Maharṣi (great saint) is to Vaiśampāyana who is

believed to be the pupil of Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa) and is credited with the composition of the eulogy to Devī Bhagavatī Vijaya Śhree.¹³⁰ Except for the categorical mention of the Vedic literature in these two inscriptions the vast number of sculptures and literature represent mostly Śaivite, Buddhistic and Vedic deities within the framework of the psychological cult of the Jewel and the Lotus. Evidently the Śaivite and the Buddhistic period appears to have preceded the Vedic period of Nepal. The chronology of Nepal and the vast collection of the Śaivite and Buddhistic literature, monuments and sculptures prove conclusively that the Smṛti works appear to have followed rather than preceded Śaivism and Buddhism.

From a comparative study of the Manuscripts of Yogīśvara and Padmanābha namely III, 360 G copied in N. S. 366 (1246 A. D.) the paper Manuscript No 1294 copied in N. S. 827 (1707 A. D.), and III 397 D copied in N. S. 540 (1420 A. D.) by the Nepalese scribes at different periods) we get the impression that the Nepalese people were making piecemeal digestion of the Smṛti works with the strongest admixture of the Śaivite and Buddhistic Creeds. Except for the broad ethical impact of the rambling epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, we can hardly speak of any definite creed propagated by the Smṛti-makers themselves. Sheer attack on the atheistical teachings of the historical Buddhas in the Pilaster of Harigāon or the invocation of the terrors of Hell and the pleasures of Heaven do not seem to have affected the Nepalese world-view and their concept of spiritual value. Even the misery and chaos in the different periods of our history do not seem to have deviated the Nepalese people from their faith in the Perfection of Wisdom achieved by their fore-fathers. On the other hand, a few of the following manuscripts reveal the transforming force of the Nepalese creed of astro-psyhic theory and practice of Kāla-cakra on the Indian Brāhmins. Pujāpradīpa No III 375 consisting of 3700 Ślokas (verses) in Newārī characters is a liturgical work for the benefit of the Brāhmins themselves, who are either called Pāncopāśaka or Smārta to indicate that they were non-sectarian and unorthodox in their concept of Smṛti-works. This interesting work seems to be composed by Mahāmohapādhyāya Govinda at the request of Bhavānanda who is described in this work as a poet and a conqueror. This Bhavānanda may be founder

of the Nadia family. The author's father is given as Keśava, whose object and ambition it was to compile a non-sectarian work.

A Smṛti work by Harinātha is dated L. S. 377 1491 A. D.) during the reign of Doyen King Rûpa Nārāyaṇa of Tirhout with its capital in Simaraungad. Extensive works on Smṛti Nos 308 and 395 dated L. S. 341 (1496 A. D.) in Maithili characters by the same author are preserved in our Manuscript library. Although the Doyens claimed themselves to be the Simaraungad version of the South Indian Hindus, yet our records of the period show that they destroyed and set fire to our temples and pillaged Church-properties unlike the Khasa Kings of Western Nepal.

Vāstu-śāstra (No III. 397 A.) in Nevārī characters deals with architecture, engineering devices for town-planning and building of palaces and with religious rites associated with the consecration of houses and house-warming feasts. There are ample references to the making of bricks and building materials in the White Yajurveda. Judging from the large variety of brick-works on the foundations of ancient monuments in Kapilavastu and Kathmandu, this unique Manuscript, which opens in the form of a Tantra with the description of a beautifully situated hermitage by the bank of a fast-flowing river over the Himalayas, seems to be based on the indigenous principles and practices of Nepal. More because the dialogue on the subject of architecture occurs between Vṛddha Gārga (Gārga the elder) and Jaksuki.

Vratapaddhati III. 404 A) by Rudra-dharaḥ dated L. S. 286 and written in Maithila characters deals with the principles and practices of fasting. Tirthavidhi (III 404 A.) by Vācaspati deals with the merits of visiting such holy places as Puruṣottama, Bhuvaneśvara, Birajakṣetra, Gaṅgā (the river Ganges), Prayāga and the confluences of the river Gaṇḍakī. But the work totally lacks geographical information to be useful. Kṛtyakalpataṛṇī (कृत्यकल्पतरु) meaning the tree of ritual practices as old as the Eon) by Lakṣmidhara is one of the oldest manuscripts in Nāgara characters dated Vikrama Samvat 1233 (1176 A. D.). The author is supposed to be the Chief Minister of King Govinda Candra Deva of Kanauj, who made extensive compilation of this work based upon ancient Smṛtis. We have preserved only the "Śrāddha-kāṇḍam" meaning the Chapter dealing with

the rituals and deities associated with the performance of death anniversaries. This is the oldest work of Lakṣmidhara known to us so far.

Dānavākyaṃ in Maithila characters misdated the month of Kārtika-badi (Oct-Nov dark Pakṣa or half) L. S. 139 which corresponds to 1300 A. D. when the compiler flourished. Commensurate with its title the Manuscript deals with the various religious expressions appropriate to the nature of gifts to be made to the Brāhmins. There are some sections in the book under the title “Dravya-nirṇayo-nāma-nighaṇṭu” meaning the Chapter dealing with the determination of the monetary or material gifts in Newāri characters. In such cases the Sanskrit original is accompanied by a running commentary in old Newāri language. Evidently the Newar community of Nepal seems to be increasingly influenced at this period by the authors of Simarāuṇḍa.

Nitya-prayoga-ratnākara (No. III 260 E) by Premnidhi Śarmā of the district of Kumāon deals with the daily duties due to the Brāhmins every day. The work opens with an invocation to Kārtavīryārjuna as a divinity. The author seems to have acquired his education in Banaras. The name of Nāgārjuna is very popular in Nepal as a philosopher and a physician while Bhimārjuna is the name of one of our Licchavi Kings. Against such a historical background, the deification of Kārtavīryārjuna by the author after his education in Banaras seems to be interesting.

Caturavargacintāmaṇi (चतुर्वर्ग चिन्तामणि III 265 A.) by Hemādri is divided into two Khaṇḍas (parts) namely Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa and Kālanīrnaya-khaṇḍ. Both the parts have been published by the Bibliotheca Indica. They are written in Nevāri characters and they deal by and large with the determination of the appropriate and auspicious time by reference to astrology for the performance of religious duties by the four castes of Peoples.

Madanaratnapradīpe-prāyaścittodyota (मदन रत्न प्रदीपे प्रायश्चित्तोद्योतः III. 305 Folio 215 wrongly marked by Professor H. P. Shastri No. 163 in his Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Manuscripts Volume II p.178) is the second Udyota (volume) by Madana Simha (Motāno Lomo) of the work already discussed under the number 1236. But while the former manuscript is copied in Nevāri characters and dated in the Nepāla Saṃvata, this one is written in Nāgara characters. The subject matter is the same as

that of the Manuscript 1236. We have now discovered inscriptions to prove that Madana Simha Ramā (Motāno Lomo of the annals of China) and the author of this Manuscript was entirely a different person from Madana Simha—the son of Sakti Simha—of Delhi. It is now absolutely necessary to correct the error made by Levi in his *Le Nepal* to the effect that the so-called Madana Simha of Delhi held the reins of Government in Nepal when the Chinese Mission visited our country. These manuscripts and the lately discovered inscriptions prove conclusively that Madana Simha Ramā (Motāna Lomo) was a Nepalese and not an Indian.

Prāyaścitta Prakaraṇam (III. 305 B.) by Bhava Deva describes the rigorous practices of purification for the five major sins, of which the killing of a Brāhmaṇa under any circumstances is accounted as the most heinous crime under the sun. This Manuscript opens with an invocation of Viṣṇu, and as a treatise based upon the Brāhmannic Law-giver Manu it was natural for the Brāhmins to claim exemption from capital crime and also prescribe impossible practices of penitences for the infringement of the rights and privileges of their priestly order. The Buddhist monks and the priestly order of all religious believers have claimed the like privileges from the common people in their heyday of prosperity. This Manuscript is copied in Nevāri characters and it consists of 1700 verses.

About the author Professor H. P. Shastri says that Bhava Deva's "Paddhati" is regarded as the standard work of the Sāma-vedi Brāhmins of Bengal; and that the author was a Minister to King Harivarmā Deva in the coastal country of Bengal during the 10th century A. D. An inscription composed by Vācaspati Misra in the temple of Ananta Vāudeva of the city of Bhuvaneśvara describes the author Bhava Deva as "Bāla Vālabhī bhujanga."

Dānaratnākara (III 306) is a long tiresome book dealing with the merits of the different categories of gifts and the religious rituals associated with them. The author is Caṇḍeśvara—the Minister of King Hari Simha Deva, both of whom took refuge in the village of Dolakha in East No. 2 district of Nepal consequent upon the attack of general Shamsuddin Mohammad from Bengal.

Mahādānanīrṇaya (III 307) by Vācaspati is copied in Nevāri characters dealing with the auspicious occasion, the merits and the rituals asso-

ciated with major gifts. There is no date in this Manuscript, but another Manuscript attributed to the same author under the number 1214 Kha (ख) in Maithili characters bears the L. S. 392.

Putra-Dinakarodyotaḥ (III. 310) in 3200 stanzas in Nevāri characters and dated N. S. 794 (1674 A. D.) dedicated by Viśveśara Bhaṭṭa to his father Dinakara, deals with such works of public utility as the digging of wells and ponds. More interesting than its contents is the history of Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa, commonly known as Gā Gā Bhaṭṭa, who is believed to have officiated in the enthronement of the celebrated Mahratṭha Emperor Śivaji who had a meteoric rise to power against the Mongol Emperor Aurangzeb. Judging from the selected works of Smṛti copied or translated at this period we gather the impression that the Nepalese Kings got the jobs done with a view more to keep abreast of the social, political and intellectual developments in India, Tibet and China than for the contents of the books themselves. On the other hand, it is commonly believed that the motive force behind the revolutionary rise of Śivaji to power was the resurgence of Tāntric Śaivism in which the Mahratṭha King believed. At no period of history Nepal seems to have lost her contact with the North-western countries of India or with Tibet.

It is interesting to note that some Bengali authors were getting to study the tradition of Nepal represented by the festival of Indra-yātra. We must congratulate Mr. Śakti Ballabha Bhaṭṭācārya for writing an account of the tradition associated with the erection of the Pole of Indra-yātra. However, it would be too much to expect from this Bengali author as to the psychological significance of the Statue of Indra-nāma-divākara of Té-bahāl set up by Guha Mitra way back in Saṃvat 402 (480 A. D.) in King Mana Deva's scheme of *Bhairavi-cakra*.¹³¹ But the very fact that this Bengali author does not write about the merit of making gifts to his community speaks a great deal for his changing outlook.

The festival of Indra-yātra as the Bengali writer Śakti Ballabha Bhaṭṭācārya found it in his own time :

Indra-dhvajotsava-kathānām (इन्द्र ध्वजोत्सव कथानाम् III. 320) in Nāgari characters deals with the various local legends, ceremonies and rituals associated with the erection of the Pole with the standard of Indra in

four hundred verses. The author appears to have lived in Kathmandu during the first half of the 19th century A. D. to write his impressions as follows :

1. The origin of the story relating to the Standard of Indra.
2. Determination of the auspicious moment for the Erection of the Pole of Indra which is the Himālayan version of the May-Pole.
3. The religious ceremonies connected with the placing of the images of Sakra (Indra) with outstretched arms over the many poles and sanctuaries of Indra-gr̥ha (इन्द्र गृह). It is interesting to note that the Capuchin Fathers in the 17th century mistook these statues of Indra with outstretched hands for the icons of the crucifixion of Lord Jesus Christ.
4. Some thoughts about the morning functions.
5. Some thoughts about the Lagna (the right moment for ushering in the main function).
6. Considerations for the conclusion and the disposal of the Indra-yātrā festival.

Although the author does not seem to know much about the historical antecedents, yet the book describes all the functions faithfully.

Samvatsarakṛtya-prakāśa (III 320 C) by Bhāskara Bhakta is a comprehensive compilation consisting of 2800 verses describing the duties due to a Hindu during the entire Calendar Year. This Manuscript is written in Nāgari characters and dated N. S. 885 (1665 A. D.).

Vīramitrodaya by Mitra Misra is a comprehensive compilation of Smṛti works in 12 volumes. A long introduction to this book gives a complete list of the Kings of Bundelkhand from Madhukara Shaha to Yasovanta Shaha. Vīra Simha, under whose patronage Mitra Misra compiled and named these works, was the son of Madhukara Shaha. Historically, the murder of the celebrated Mongol historian Abul Fazl is attributed to Vīra Simha under the inspiration of Jehangir—the son of the Mongol Emperor Akbar the Great. Writing about his own origin, Mitra Misra traces his lineage to the Citpāvana family to which the celebrated Peshwas appear to have belonged. The author claims that his great-grandfather hailed from Konkan and that his father was a medical practitioner (of Āyurveda) from Banaras. The Manuscript reveals another interesting historical fact to the effect that as late as the Seventeenth cen-

tury, the Kings of Bundelkhand bore the titular title of Kāśīśvara (sovereigns of Banaras) and Gāhareśvara conferred on them by the Hindu dynasty of Kanauj. Mitra Misra seems to be equally disturbed by the length and volumes of such Smṛti works as Dvaita-nīṇaya and Udāra-sāgara. In order to encourage the author Vīra Simha—the patron—appears to have asked him to compile a digest of the Smṛti works, which Mitra Misra did under 37 different heads beginning with the rites and ceremonies to be performed during the Mala-māsa (leap months) and ending with the rites and ceremonies to be performed in the Tīrthas (Holy places of pilgrimages after the necessary ablutions).

Vyavahārāloka or Vyavahārātātvaloka (व्यवहारा लोक or व्यवहार तत्वालोक III, 329 A.) by Gopāla Siddhantavāgiśa Bhaṭṭācārya in Sanskrit language, Maithili characters and dated N. S. 773 (1853 A. D.) is a comprehensive work on Lawer's Law. This Manuscript deals with the classification of the cases of dispute, the statement of a witness, consideration of Kraya (purchase) and Vikraya (sale), determination of a case and the consequent application of the law. It also discusses disputes regarding the boundary of landed property and the method of accusation in the case of stealing, and defines the bond of Dharma (fidelity) between man and wife, the limitations of the functions of the Jury, the decision of the Judge and the administration of justice. Kṛtyamahārṇava (कृत्यमहार्णव III 332) by Mahārājadhīrāja Harinārāyaṇa of the Brāhmaṇa dynasty of Darbhanga consists of 3200 stanzas and is complete in 8 Tarangas (chapters) under the following headings : 1. Kṛtya (rites), 2. Ācāra (customary duties), 3. Vicāra (right thinking), 4. Vyavahāra (dealings), 5. Ādāna (give and take), 6. Śuddhi (rites for purification), 7. Srāddha (duties to be performed out of affection like offerings to the dead ancestors) and 8. Miscellaneous functions. Copied in Newāri characters in N. S. 820 (1700 A. D.) the Manuscript is unique for its reference to the ancient dynasty of the Ābhiras of Nepal (Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters by R. Gnoli No XVI page 23).

Pitr̥bhakti-taraṅginī (पितृ भक्ति तरङ्गिणी III. 350) by Vācaspati Misra makes a detailed study of the rituals with reference to the performance of the Śrāddhas (death anniversaries). It is interesting to note that this Manuscript written in Maithili characters is dated both in Śaka Year 1742

and the Nepāla Saṃvata 784 (1664 A. D.). Evidently, the author does not seem to be aware of the fact that the Nirvāṇa Saṃvata, the Śaka Saṃvata, the Māna Deva Saṃvata and the Nepala Saṃvata are interrelated in the religious scheme of Dharma-Cakra, Kāla-Cakra and Bhairavi-Cakra millennia.

Compared to the vast number of the Tāntric and the Buddhistic Manuscripts, the Smṛti works in the Durbar library so far housed under the Clock Tower near Ranipokhari are, indeed, very few and far between. Recently His Majesty King Mahendra has acquired the private Library of late Gururaj Hemaraj Pandiji for the people of Nepal. Very few scholars had access to this private library so that a great deal of spade work may be necessary before all the Manuscripts could be classified and dated properly. Unfortunately, I could not have access to the private Library of the late Field Marshal General Kaiser Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana for a survey of the Smṛti works obtaining in them. But before we return to a brief comparative survey of the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal and the Gupta inscriptions of India, I should like to mention the list of Smṛti-works obtaining in the library of the late Gururaj since acquired by His Majesty's Government of Nepal in the following Chapter XII.

CHAPTER : XII

List of Smṛti works in Gururji Hema Raja's library with a running commentary :

Nos.	Title of the Manuscript :	Authors	Subject	Script	Number of Pages	Other details
1.	Manusmṛti	Bhṛḡu	Smṛti	Devākṣara	1—144	Complete. Bhṛḡu is mentioned by yogīśvara and Padmānātha Ms. III. 360 to Chapter XI
2.	Manvārtha muktaśālināmni Manusmṛti	Kuluka	”	”	1—167	Incomplete. Kuluka is a well-known author on Smṛti.
3.	Yamasmṛti	Yama	”	”	”	The name of this author occurs in the Pilaster of Harigāṇ.
4.	Śātāpa-smṛtiḥ ca	Śātāpa	”	”	1—19	Complete. This name occurs in the list of 20 Smṛti-makers mentioned in Chapter XI.

5.	Viṣṇusmṛti Samvartasmṛti	Viṣṇu <i>Samvarta</i>	”	”	1—19	Complete. Both the names occur among the list of 20 Smṛti-makers mentioned in Chapter XI
6.	Viṣṇusmṛti Vaiṣṇavadharmasāstraṁiva	Viṣṇu	”	”	1—19	It is natural for the authors to take their name after the god of their faith.
7.	Gautamasṁṛitika Mitakṣara This commentary is famous in Hindu law.	Haradatta	”	”	1—56	Incomplete. Gautama is mentioned as the Second Brahmannic pariaarch after Sampanaya in the White Yajurveda Vamśa. Gautama occurs among the list of the 20 patriarchs of Smṛti
8.	Nāradasṁṛti Vyavahāra Prakṛaṇam		This has a running explanatory notes in Newāri language	Newāri	1—104	Although the name of Nārada does not occur among the Patriarchs of Smṛti we have made a reference to Nārada-Saṁhitā as a branch of the Mānava-dharma-sāstra in Chapter XI Manuscript No. 1230 Ca (३).

Nos. Title of the Manuscript	Author	Subject	Script	Pages	Other details
9. Smṛti-saṃgraha or collections from the works of Brhaspati, Devala, Buddha, Vyāsa, Dakṣa, and Śātātapa made by Mṛsānkha	Mṛsānkha	Select works of Smṛti	Devākṣara	1—60	Most of the works of the celestial musician Nārada are considered as an appendix to Manusmṛti. Please refer to our notes on Nāradiya-dharma-sāstra. However, the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind III, p. 6 ft) mentions Gandharva Tumburu, Nārada and Brhaspati as the teachers of the Vedic King of gods Indra.
10. Smṛti-saṃgraha and Smṛti-samuccaya claimed to be the digest	Compiler unknown	A Digest	,,	1—31	Brhaspati is the second patriarch after Manu and Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana) according to Inscription XI. Dakṣa and Śātātapa occur in the list of 20 names mentioned in Chapter XI. Devala and Buddha are popular names. Here also Brhaspati heads the list. Parāśara is said to be the father of Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana). Sam-

varta, Śātātapa and Dakṣa occur among the list of 20 names of Yājñavalka Bhāradvāja is a popular poet rather than a prophet. Bhāradvājiputra occurs, in the white Yajurvedavamsā same as Pārāsari putra, Gārgī putra, Māṇḍavi putra and Bhāradvāji putra. These metonyms are extremely interesting.

Manu is believed to be the first Brāhmannic Patriarch. Complete. Yājñavalka figures in the court of King Janaka and also occurs in the Chronology of white Yajurveda. According to Brāhmannic legends, Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa) was the teacher of Vaisampāyana and the latter was the Guru of Yājñavalka.

Huband of Satyavatī, Parā-sara is said to be the father of Dvaipāyana (Vedavyāsa)

of the Smṛti-works of Brhaspati, Bhāradvāja, Vyāsa, Parāsara, Saṁvarta, Śātātapa and Dakṣa

11.	Manu smṛti and Yājñavalkasmṛti. Both the works are written in beautiful Newāri scripts.	Compiler unknown	Smṛti	Newāri	1—9	
		"	"	"	1—44	
12.	Parāsarasmṛti	Compiler unknown	Smṛti	Devākṣara	1—26	
13.	"				1—23	
14.	" In three volumes				1—50	
15.	Vṛhatparāśaria-Dharmaśāstram:	Compiler unknown	Smṛti	Devākṣara	1—66	
16.	Parāsarasmṛti	"	"	"	1—82	

Nos.	Title of the Manuscript	Author	Subject	Script	Pages	Other details
17.	Parāsarasmṛti-vyākhyā	Mādhava	Smṛti	Newāri	1—66	
18.	Yājñavalkasmṛti	Yājñavalka	„	Devākṣara	1—42	Second Chapter complete.
19.	Vyavahārādhyaṃ mātram					
20.	Yājñavalkasmṛti vyākhyā (Mitākṣara)	Vijñāneśvara Vikṣu	Commentary on the work	Devākṣara	1—105	Ācārādhyaṃ. The work is incomplete.
21.	„	„	„	„	1—126	Vyavahārādhyaṃ. The work is complete.
	„	„	„	„	1—244	Prāyascittādhyaṃ. The work is complete.
	„	Unknown	„	„	1—71	Ācārādhyaṃ complete.
	„	„	„	„	1—137	Vyavahārādhyaṃ complete.
	„	„	„	„	1—166	Prāyascittādhyaṃ complete.
22.	Yājñavalkasmṛti Vyākhyā	Unknown	Commentary on the work	Devākṣara	2—177	The first page of Ācārādhyaṃ is missing. The text continues as far as “Dravyasuddhi-prakaraṇa
23.	Yājñavalkasmṛti Vyākhyā (Mitākṣara) (Kha ३) in three volumes The Ms. is old and tattered.	„	„		Consisting of 41—144 and 167 pages respectively.	As a whole the work consists of Ācārādhyaṃ, Vyavahārādhyaṃ and Prāyascittādhyaṃ.
24.	„	„	Lakṣmidevī	„	1—130	This Ācārādhyaṃ is incomplete which stops midway with the ceremony of Viṣotsarga.

34	“	“	“	“	1—331	This consists of Vyavahārādhyāya and is complete.
	“	“	“	“	1—146	This Prāyascittādhyāya is complete.
25.	Yājñavalkasmṛti vyākhyā Mitak- sarā-Vyākhyā (Subodhini)	Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa	“	“	1—113	It consists of Vyavahārādhyāya containing directives for human dealing
26.	Smṛtyārthasāra	Shrēedharācārya Yājñ	Devākṣara	“	1—97	This is a collection of essays on Smṛti works.
27.	Smṛtyārthasāra (Prāyaścitta-pra- karanamātram)	Shreedharācārya Yājñ	“	“	1—177	This collection treats of the principles and practices of penitence for sinful acts.
28.	Smṛtyārthasāra	“	“	“	1—48	“
29.	“	“	“	“	1—62	“
30.	Smṛtitattvam : Dayābhāgasmṛti Tattvam	Raghunandana	“	“	1—39	“
31.	Smṛtisāra	Narasimhācārya	“	“	1—208	“
32.	Caturvisati mativyākhyā	Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣit	“	“	1—81	“
33.	Smṛtisāra	Ānandagiri	“	“	“	“
34.	Samuccaya	“	“	“	“	“
35.	Nānārṣivākya Sangad	“	“	“	1—23	“
36.	Smṛtisāṅgraha	Anonymous	Collection of Smṛti	“	1—112	“

Nos.	Title of the Manuscript	Author	Subject	Script	Pages	Other details
37.	Smṛtidarpaṇa	Rabīśomayāji	Mirror of Smṛti		1—26	
38.	Daṇḍaviveka	Anonymous	Considerations for punishments	Devākṣara	1—28	
39.	Prapañcasāra-viveka	Gaṅgādhara	Considerations on the gist of Prapañca	„	1—83	
40.	Yogīśvara saṅgraha	Padmanābha	Both the Authors quote Smṛti Patriarchs who do not occur in the pillar of Hari-gaon and mostly in the Chronology of the White Yajurveda.			We have taken up the works of Yogīśvara and Padmanābha in Chapter XI.
41.	Dharmaśāstriya Vacanāni	Anonymous	Dictums of Dharmasāstra	Devākṣara	2—9	
42.	Anāndhya Smṛti saṅgraha	„	Collections	„	1—2	
43.	Smṛtisamuccaya Ratnakaraṇḍīka	„	„	„		
44.	Smṛtiparibhāṣa	Vardhamāno-pādhyāya Govindarāja	Definitions of Smṛti	„	1—26	
45.	Smṛtīmañjari	Anonymous	Smṛti	„	1—125	
46.	Smṛtīsāra		Gist of Smṛti	„	1—5	

47. Smṛtisāra	Harinātha				
	Mahāmoha- pādhya				1—114
48. Sārasaṃgraha	Bhavanātha				1—23
		Collections of gists	Maithilā- kṣara		
49. Vivādacandra	Mishra	Dialectics	Devākṣara		1—65
50. Devadāsaprakāśa	Devādaśa				1—313
51. Puruṣārthacintā- maṇi Kālakhaṇḍa	Viṣṇubhaṭṭa	Astrological chapter			1—399
52. "	"	"			1—360
53. Nīrṇayāmṛtaṃ	Aṣṇāranātha	Nectar of deci- sions			1—166
54. Nīrṇayamṛte- dravyasuddhi prakaraṇaṃ	"	A chapter, de- voted to the Discussion of the purification of gifts			1—25
				No doubt this chapter discussing the puri- fication of monetary and other gifts form- ed part of Nīrṇayā- mṛta.	
55. Nīrṇayāmṛtaṃ	"	Much the same as 53.			1—264
56. "	"	"			1—215
57. "	"	"	Newārakṣara		1—120
				all these are very late compilations	

Nos.	Title of the Manuscript	Author	Subject	Script	Pages	Other details
58.	Nirṇayasindhu (Nirṇaya Kamalā- kara)	Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa	Ocean of decisions	Devākṣara	1—389	This is a big leap forward from the ambrosian drops to the nectarine Ocean.
59.	Nirṇayasindhu		Ocean of decisions	Devākṣara	1—605	The volume of the works increases and notes multiply. The original concept of Dharma in the sense of the sustaining power of Nature loses its significance in the complexity of Smṛti-makers.
60.	”		”	”	1—333	
61.	”		”	”	1—212	
62.	”		”	”	1—180	
63.	”		”	”	1—448	
64.	Tīkā-Sindhu dīpikā	Kṛiṣṇa Sarma	Notes to throw further light on “The oceans of decisions	”	1—220	
65.	Dharma-Sindhu	Kāshi Nātha	Ocean of laws.		1—178	The inner relationship between Perception and Revelations loses its trail.

The few Smṛti works mentioned in Chapters XI and XII show how they developed in the different epochs of our history. It is because of the complexity and contradictory epochs of our history that Nepal developed the Saṃvatas (the Eras) as beacons to throw light on the night of life. But because there is the landmark of Anuparama's Pillar inscription of the 5th century, it is possible to check the parallel development of Buddhism in China and of Brāhmannism with the Gupta inscriptions of India. We have already dealt at some length in previous chapters how Śaivism and Buddhism, aiming as they did on the psychological perception and Buddhistic meditation (Dhyāna), did not confine themselves to human frontiers. In process of time they became universal in their scope and appeal. Apart from the negligible number of Smṛti works quoted above Nepal preserves the Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of wisdom) and all the ancient manuscripts mentioned in the Chinese, Central Asiatic and Pakistani documents. We can only access the true significance of the Nepalese Saṃvatas (Eras) when we put all the documents in order, establish the system they follow and lay bare their trends so as to find the inner relationship between the human factor and the events. That is the main and most difficult problem, and we can find examples in flesh and blood only when we make a comparative study of the materials at our disposal. In the following chapter XIII we would make a comparative study on the 4th and fifth century documents of Nepal, India and China.

CHAPTER : XIII

A comparative study of the divisions and coalescences of power in the Himālayan confederation of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas, Indian Parama-Bhāgavatas and the Hunnic and Tibetan kings during the fourth and fifth century :

Against the background of the Vedic and Buddhistic patriarchs mentioned in the preceding chapters XI and XII, it would be useful to examine the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal vis-a-vis the Gupta Inscriptions of India and the documents of China throughout the fourth and the fifth centuries. The Licchavi dynasty ruled in Nepal from the middle of the fourth to the last quarter of the eighth century under the haloed title of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas. We have already pointed out how the republican tribes of the Licchavis were the most progressive and colourful peoples of North-Bihar with their capital of Vaiśālī during the age of Śākyamuni. The main sources for the history of the Licchavis is a relatively rich epigraphy which is amply supported by the central Asiatic, Chinese and Tibetan evidences. According to the coin of Chandragupta I and the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta, the Gupta kings appear to have received the kingdom of Magadha as a dowry for princess Kumāradevī from the Licchavis who were in possession of north-Bihar during the early years of the 4th century. It is remarkable that the Brāhmaṇic Purāṇas recognise early Gupta rule over Śāketa (Ayodhya) and Prayāga on the banks of the rivers Sarayu and the Gaṅges respectively. Although Samudragupta seems to be deeply influenced by the Smṛti-compilations of Bṛhaspati, Tumburu and Nārada and by the legends of the epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, yet his Licchavi mother Kumāradevī appears to have initiated him into the belief that the clear water of the Gaṅges flew down from the matted locks of Paśupati from his abode of Kailāsa for the salvations of the Three Worlds (viz. Heaven, Earth and Hades) as the legend is represented on our bas-reliefs of Umā-Maheśvara. He seems to believe in the Divine Rights of Kings and the countries of Āryāvarta or the land of the Aryans propagated by the Brāhmaṇic patriarch Manu, which, no doubt, was a later phase than the concept of Jambudvīpa of the Aśokan inscrip-

tions. Totally unaware of the Ābhīrean chronologies and peoples in Nepal, Samudragupta mentions the Ābhīras side by side with the Yaudheya and Mādrakas within the framework of the confederation of Śaka-muruṇḍa as the King of kings. In his bird's eye view of the patchwork of the Himālayan and Indian states he mentions the kingdom of Nepal as being sandwiched between Kāmarūpa (Gauhāṭi in Assam) and Kartripura comprised by what is today Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand.

So far as China is concerned, the region of Ch'angan was ravaged by the Huns and the Tibetans after the death of Tao-an in 385 A. D. The times were out of joint, and in such difficult periods of political turmoil, the official career was beset with hardships and dangers. The Buddhist monasteries offered hiding places, not only to tax-evaders and homeless vagrants, but also to the intellectuals who tried to keep clear of *the* onerous official career. Under the circumstances, it was impossible for the Chinese peoples to keep abreast of the spiritual development that was taking place in Central Asia under the impulse of Saddharma (true law). To the traditional motive of escape from the trials and tribulations of life, the Buddhist community added a new type of justification namely, the noble life of a Śramaṇa (pilgrim) who, like a recluse, keeps away from the bustle of the world in order to work for the emancipation of all beings.

A comparative study of the dynastic history of the brother kings of the inscriptions of the Licchavi Kings of Nepal and the Gupta inscriptions of India :

At the very outset of this book we have traced the origin of the republican tribes of the Śākyas, the Bulis, the Brāhmins (Kauśiks), the Kolis, the Mallas, the Mauryas, the Licchavis, the Bajjis and the Vaidehas of the Himālayas, and also how Śākyamuni delimited the frontier of the Himālayan "Janapadas" (Republican states) vis-a-vis the kindom of Magadha to King Bimbisāra in his capital of Rājgṛha. Like the Śākyas and the Kolis, the Licchavis appear as one of the most militant and volatile peoples of the Buddhist Himālayas where the second Buddhist Synod appears to have been organised in their capital of Vaiśālī. With the rise of the political power of the Śaka peoples in the horizon of Asia, these fair-skin Licchavis appear to have intermarried with the Yakṣis and Kinnaris of the Kingdom of women (Strī-rājya) and formed an ethnic bridge of Suvarṇagotra

(peoples of Gold race origin) between the Himālayan tribes and the Western Śakas (Scythians). It is a common knowledge that the Mauryan kings of India intermarried with the Indo-Greek and the Śaka princesses on equal terms. After the downfall of the second dynasty of the Kirānti-kings, the Licchavis appear to have made a confederation with the lunar dynasty of the Śakas (Śaka-haumavargāḥ) and emerged with the cognomen Gomî or Gomîns (=Perfect moons) till the Kuṣhāṇas visited Kapilavastu and Lumbinî under King Kaṇiṣhka. Judging from the discovery of a large number of Kaṇiṣhka's coins in Kapilavastu, the Varmma kings of Nepal appear to have accepted the system of Kuṣhāṇa coinage and Kaṇiṣhka's Era started by him in 78 A. D. After the decline of the political power of the Kuṣhāṇas, the re-emergence of the Licchavis as Paśupati-Bhaṭṭarakas (brother kings of the order of Paśupati) with the Śaka system of coinage and the Śaka-saṃvata (Śaka-era) on the fronton of their inscriptions makes one of the most glowing chapters in the history of Asia. Evidently, the Licchavis were the most durable of the peoples of the Buddhist Republican States and with the growing popularity of the scripture spoken by the Licchavi householder Vimalakîrti and the travels of Fa-schien, Hsüan-tsang and Wang Hiuan t'se the Licchavis find frequent mention in the annals of China. It was while Fa-schien was travelling north-India that the Licchavi king of Nepal, Vṛṣa-deva and king Candragupta of Ayodhyā appear to have seen the light of day. The records of Fa-schien tend to show that northern India during the first quarter of the fourth-century was a patch-work quilt of states dominated by the Mālava aristocracy as far as Patna and Banaras. On the other hand, the chronology of the Licchavi kings, Vṛṣa-deva, Śaṅkaradeva, and Dharma-deva open with accounts of brilliant military expeditions and "Yûpas" (pillars erected to commemorate victories) till king Māna Deva claims signal success over the capital of the mallas in his victory pillar of Cāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa way back in 464 A. D.

The contemporary inscription of King Samudragupta in the fort of Allahabad mentions, like the inscription of King Māna Deva, exactly four kings namely, Śhree-gupta, Śhree Ghaṭotkaca-gupta, Śhree Candragupta (husband of Licchavi princess Kumāra-devî) and Śhree Samudra gupta whose boast of heraldry seems to be based upon his birth from his Licchavi mother. The inscription on the Licchavi coin of Kumāra-devî and Candra-

gupta (Allan's Catalogue, p 8f) with an adaptation of Pallas Athene for Ambikā seems to be an imitation of the Indo-Greek coin. On stylistic grounds, this Licchavi type of coin and the corresponding claim of Samudra-gupta to Licchavi lineage on the side of his mother, prove conclusively that the kingdom of Magadha was more a matter of inheritance than of conquest. The inscriptions of Samudragupta show a medley of beliefs, though the dominating faith seems to be Bhāgavata-dharma propagated by the Brāhmannic patriarchs Bṛhaspati, Tumburu and Nārada. So far there is no mention of Dvaipāyana as the compiler of the epic of the Mahābhārata. However, the title of Parama-bhāgavata assumed by the Gupta kings prove conclusively that they firmly believed in the cult of the holy Vāsudeva at the outset of their political career. What is most significant is the fact that the title of "Paramabhṭāraka" is given to Samudra-gupta by Tila-bhaṭṭa who was the king's Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka (chief of police probably with power to judge criminal offences). Unlike the Paśupati-bhaṭṭārakas bound in brotherly bonds of a common faith, the title of "Parama-bhaṭṭāraka" implies overlordship which is contrary to the concept of the Himālayan "Janapadas" (republican states).

Historical assessment of the Inscriptions of the Indian Napoleon namely Samudragupta :

The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (C. 330-375 A. D. ?) in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī script of the northern class is inscribed on a pillar which also bears two Aśokan records. Judging from the fact that Śākyamuni was taken to Kṛmivarma for initiation into the art of writing "Brāhmī-lipi" and that the records anterior to the inscriptions of Aśoka have been discovered in Piprahavā and Śrāvastī, the association of the dynastic name of Gupta characters applied to the Nepalese inscriptions by R. Gnoli do not appear to be satisfactory. The text of Lalita-vistara mentions sixty-four Brāhmī scripts without enumerating them and the Brāhmannic grammarian Pāṇini (6-3-36) mentions Brāhmī-scripts in the context of Vedic letters. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of difference between the letters of Aśokan Brāhmī and the Kuṣhāṇa Brāhmī. The Licchavi-Brāhmī seems to be more archaic in its form than the Gupta-Brāhmī. Dr. Buhler and other authorities on Indian paleography quote

Nārada-smṛti (IV-70) and Bṛhaspati to the effect that the Brāhmannic god Brahmā had created the Brāhmī-scripts. But both the authors do not appear before the records of Ābhīra Anuparama-gupta of Nepal and Samudragupta of Allahabad. The Chinese Encyclopaedia Fa-Wan-lin also records that the Brāhmī lipi was invented by Brahmā. But all these works were considerably later than the Life of Buddha and Lalita-vistara, which attribute the knowledge of Brāhmī-lipi to LIPYĀCĀRYAS (Professors of scripts) Kṛimivarmān and Viśvāmitra respectively.

To return to king Samudragupta's concept of Āryāvarta (land of the Āryas) his random mention of countries, kings and tribes give us an impression that India was a patch-work of states and races where the common peoples did not count. According to Manu, the holy land of the Aryans was bounded by the Himālayas to the north, the Vindhya mountain to the south, the Arabian sea to the West and the Bay of Bengal to the east. The king claims to have treacherously captured a prince of Koṭa-family of Ujjayinī while he was playing happily in the city of Pāṭaliputra (Patna). It is commonly believed that the Guptas were descended from a Viceroy of the Koṭa-dynasty of the city of Ujjayinī. Then, he mentions a few musical instruments and implements of war and proceeds with the names of countries, kings and races in the following order : 1. Kauśala (south Kośala with its capital of Shreepura, modern Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region supposed to be home of the Ikṣvākus, and not the old Kośalī with its capital of Śrāvastī mentioned by Śākyamuni to King Bimbisāra); 2. Mahākāntārā is a large forest which cannot be identified. 3. Vyāghrarāja is identified by competent historians with Vyāghra-deva who, according to the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions, was a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Prthvīśena; 4. Kaurāla is possibly the Kollair lake near Ellore in the district of river Godāvarī; 5. Koṭṭūra is possibly Kothoor near Mahendragiri in the district of Ganjam; 6. Piṣṭapura may be modern Piṭhāpuram in the district of Godāvarī where reigned king Mahendragiri; 7. Viṣṇugopa is a Pallava king of Kāñchī; and 8. Hastivarman is a Śālikāyana king of Vengī. 9. Palakka Ugrasena may be the king of Palakkāḍa in the Nellore region. 10. Daivarāṣṭraka Kuvera may be the king of the Yellamanñchili region of the modern district of Visigapatam. 11. Kusthalapura and Eraṇṣapalla have been identified with north Arcot and

some localities of the Ganjam and Vizigapatam districts respectively. It is remarkable that Samudragupta identifies the above kings and countries as forming part of Dakṣhiṇāpatha (Peninsular India) to the south of the Vindhya range and outside the pale of the Land of the Āryas.

Among the kings of the land of the Āryas, Samudragupta mentions Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Candravarmma, Gaṇapati-nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandī, Balavarmma and others without specifying the area of their territories. Indian historians have identified Rudradeva with the Vākāṭaka king of Berar, Rudrasena I who belonged to the Peninsular India and not to the land of the Āryas. A contemporary seal found in the Bulandasahar district of the United Provinces of India mentions Mattila who may be identified with Matila of Samudragupta's inscription. Nāgadatta, Gaṇapati-nāga and Nāgasena may be Nāga princes who ruled from their capital of Padmāvati in the ancient kingdom of Pawāya (Pāvā) in the state of Gwalior of Central India. The Nāgas are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Indo-Greeks and the Śākas. According to the Purāṇas (legends of India) Padmāvati was the centre of Nāga-power where the coins of king Gaṇapati-nāga have been discovered. The life of Harṣa (Harṣacarita) mentions the death of Nāgasena in the city of Padmāvati. If Gaṇapati-nāga and Nāgasena belonged to the same place, the record of Samudragupta seems to be mentioning the names of the prominent men of Nāga-dynasty Candravarmān as well as the Nāgas Candrāmśa occurs in the Susuniyā record of Mālwa. The district of Delhi appears to have formed part of his kingdom. According to the chronicles of Tibet and the inscriptions of Nepal the dynasty of Nāga rāja ruled in Tibet and Nepal with the 11th century A. D. The coins of a king known by the name of Achyuta have been found in the ancient city of Ahichhatra comprised presently by the city of Rāmnapur in the Bareilly district of the United Provinces. It is difficult to identify Nandī whereas Balavarmma may be identified with the statue of Balabala or Mahābala sculptured during the reign of king Bālārcana deva in Nepal (See Plate XVII).

Side by side with Nepal and her immediate neighbours described above, Samudragupta mentions Samatāṭa and Devāka presently situated in the Tipperah district of South-east Bengal and Naogong district of

Assam respectively. According to Professor N. K. Bhattasali the country thus corresponds to the valley of Kapili-Yamunā-Kolang rivers.

Then, too, he mentions the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, the Kākas and the Kharaparikās as among the ancient tribes without mentioning the names of the countries where they existed while Samudragupta was ruling. This catalogue of ancient peoples together with his respect for the son of God and king of kings Śāka-muruṇḍa show clearly the divisions and coalescences of these ancient peoples during Samudragupta's reign. It is remarkable that the Ābhīras (Āvars) appear much earlier with their historical monuments in Nepal than the Huṇas (Huns) who seem to be converging to a symbiosis in matters of their faith before they emerge as factors in the history of mankind. Now we know that the Āvars of Europe, sometimes called "pseudo-Āvars", were Himālayan peoples akin to the Yue-chin, Huns and the mixed tribes mentioned above. Against the historical background of Samudragupta's inscription, it would be useful to identify the like tribes mentioned in the context of Nepal and her neighbours as buffer states between the Kingdoms of Śāka-muruṇḍas (Śāka-overlords) and the Gupta kings. We have already said elsewhere how the Mālavas brought the knowledge of Śāka-era from their original home in the Jhang district of the Punjab to Rājputāna before the time of Śāka Usavadāta (c. 118-23 A. D.). The coins of the Mālava tribes and the Śāka dynasty of Chastana prove that they believed in the concept of Janapadas (republican states) and in the Śāka-era and were akin to the Śakas in their ethnic origin. During the period of Samudragupta, the Mālavas probably lived in the Mandosar region of Mālwa in Central India. The mixed tribes of the Yaudheyas lived in the Bijayagarh region of the state of Bharatpur and in the state of Johiyāwa on the banks of river Śatarudrā (Śatadru—Satlaj or Sutlej). The Mādrakas were the descendents of the Indo-Greeks and ruled the Panjab with their capital in Sialkot. Judging from their chronology and historical monuments in Nepal, the Ābhīras (Āvars) were spreading westwards and had established themselves in North-Konkan. Then, too, Samudragupta in his sweep-net gathers the mixed tribes of the Prārjunas who, according to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, belonged to the Narasinghpur district of Central Provinces; the Sanakānikas probably lived with the Mālavas in East Mālwa with its capital

of Vidiśā; and the Kākas probably lived in the Sāñchi region of Bhopal State known then as Kākanāda-Bhoṭṭa celebrated for its Buddhistic monuments since the time of the Indo-Greek king Menander. It is remarkable that the word "Bhoṭṭa" in the corresponding Nepalese inscriptions seems to trace its origin to the word Boḍa for Buddha of the Kuṣhāṇa inscriptions and applies to Tibet. It is equally interesting that he classes all these tribes with the Kharaparikas who belonged to the same Suvarṇa-gotra as the Śaka-viceroy, and who seem to be forming themselves under the banner of the Huns and Āvars as the soldiers of God in a decadent world. On reading Samudragupta's inscription, one has the feeling that it is a copy of the Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman (Ep Ind VIII). It is remarkable that, though Samudragupta does not seem to know about the Huṇas (Huns), he seems to be well informed about the intellectual activities of the Ābhīras among the mixed tribes under the leadership of Śakamurundas, of which the word "SVĀMIN" of the corresponding Licchavi inscriptions seems to be its Sanskrit rendering. Equally the neo-Sanskrit expression of Bhaṭṭāraka does not imply the fraternal bonds of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas, though Samudragupta has accepted Paśupati as the root-cause for the salvation of mankind through the agency of the river Ganges. Nepal has a number of basreliefs of different ages to prove that Samudragupta borrowed the ideas from Nepal. The mention of the Indian colonies of Ceylon and the Far East seem to be conventional in view of the poor social and political structure of his kingdom. Among the officers of state mentioned in his inscription are Āyukta (a treasury officer like the Yukta of Aśoka's inscriptions), Khāddyāṭṭa-pākika (superintendent of the Royal kitchen), Mahāḍaṇḍa-nāyaka (possibly chief of the police with power of judging criminal offences), Sandhivigrahika (a minister of peace or war) and Kumārāmatya (a minister of the states of the king's younger brother). In Nepal the title of Amātya is used in the context of a Minister for the administration of Dhārmārājikās (Religious establishments entirely unlike the Dharmarājikas of Aśoka). It would be idle to quote the political and economic organisation from the spurious inscriptions of Samudragupta, which paleographically are believed to be later than the inscriptions of Kings Harṣhavardhans (Śilāditya), Bhāskara-varmān and Ādityasena. A comparative study of the deep respect for the common people and their

worship and the warrant of precedence and the judicial customs and organisations mentioned in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal vis-a-vis the Gupta inscriptions at once reveals to us the point of contact and departure from the ancient civilisation of Buddhistic Janapadas (Republican states) and Gaṇarājays (peoples' republics) of the Himālayas and the dictatorship of India respectively.¹³²

The tradition of Kings Rāmagupta and Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya) :

Now we come to one of the most interesting figures of the Gupta dynasty in the person of King Rāmagupta whose moral weakness has been the subject of serious controversy. According to the drama of Devī-chandraguptā, this king is said to have succeeded to Samudragupta and was ousted by his brother Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya). Dr. Bhandarkar has identified the inscriptions on the coins of Kācha with the first issue of Rāmagupta's reign. The tradition recorded in the drama saying that Śarmagupta (alias Rāmagupta, Devagupta or Devarāja) was compelled to surrender his wife Dhruvāsvaminī to the Śakas in the Himālayas has now found support by the contemporary epigraphic evidence of Vijayasvāminī's inscription dedicated to Devī Bhagavatī Vijaya Śhree and the Bhoginī coins of King Māna Deva I. Mighty military achievements have been attributed to Chandragupta II (376-414 A. D. ?) who is said to have annihilated the Śaka satraps of western India in a long campaign and probably invaded Afghanistan. But the coalescences of the power of the Śaivite Kidāras, who were in possession of the Hindukush mountains and of the Licchavi Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas of Nepal tell a different story. We are now in a better position to assess the power-alignment of the Śaka-muruṇḍas, Kidāras, Ābhīras (Āvars), Huṇas (Huns) and Khasas with reference to the large number of Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal than by the confusing evidences of the Gupta inscriptions of India. It is now evident that Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya) formed matrimonial alliances with the Vaiṣṇavite Vākāṭaka kings of the Deccan against the northern coalition of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas and claimed in his Mathurā Inscriptions and coins, to have founded the Gupta Era of the Bhāgavata kings in lieu of the Śaka-Era adopted by the confederation of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas. It is remarkable that the Gupta Era of Chandragupta II is the earliest genuine date, because Al-Biruni in the 11th century accepted the epoch of the

“Gupta-kāla” as the “Era of the wicked and powerful people”. And as the Guptas identified themselves with the cult of holy Bhāgavata and performed horse-sacrifices according to the injunctions of the Vedas, the Brāhmins interpreted the Gupta-Era as the Era of Vikramāditya (the sun of power) in place of the Śaka Era of low-born slaves. Under the circumstances Brāhmannic historians have made ample attempts to prove that the coronation of their hero, Chandragupta I, took place in 57 B. C. or 200, 272 and 320-21 A. D. But judging from the evidences of Vijayasvāmini’s inscription of Nepal and the accounts of the most moving dramas of Devī-candraguptā, Harṣa-carita and Kāvya-mimāṃsā with reference to the disastrous campaigns of Rāmagupta against the Śakamuruṇḍas and Khases of the Himālayas, we may have to reexamine the veracity of Gupta Era and place king Rāmagupta’s dethronement by Chandragupta II somewhere between 476 and 477 A. D. Equally Vikramāditya’s conventional claim to world-conquest after his rescue and marriage of his sister-in-law, Dhruvasvāmini, is now open to question. We are referring our readers to the historical, social, political and religious implications of Vijayasvāmini’s inscriptions and the Bhoginī series of Mānāñkas (coins of king Māna Deva I) in Chapter XVI, which will speak for themselves.

The inscriptions of Chandragupta II show a medley of beliefs, where the Brāhmannic patriarchs seem to be 10 generations removed from Bhagavat Kauśik (poets Bālmiki or Viśvāmitra said to be the compilers of the epic of Rāmāyaṇa) and four generations removed from saint Parāsara who, according to the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, was the father of Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa commonly believed to be the compiler of the epic of Mahābhārata). It is equally difficult to identify such teachers as Kapila-Vimala or Upamita-Vimala and their disciples who had the Śaivite Liṅgas of Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara erected to commemorate them after the funeral customs of Nepal. We have already pointed out in Chapter II how Śākya-muni’s philosophy of life bears the stamp of the atomic theories of Kana-kamuni and the evolutionary theory of Kapilamuni, and also how the name of the ancient city of Kapilavastu traces its origin to the name of Kapilamuni. But these names of Vimala with the support of ancient tradition of Kapila and Upamita were Śaivites rather *than* followers of the Bhāgavata cult of the Vedic god Viṣṇu in three Incomprehensible steps. Judging

from the evidences of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings in Western India, the cult of Maheśvara (God of gods) seems to be predominant in the city of Mathurā. More because, the letters of the record resemble Kuṣhāna script and the peculiarity may be due to the religious inclination and locality of the scribes and the existence of a cursive script calculated to express the influence of Prākritic language and culture. The Udayagiri-cave—Inscriptions of the time of Chandragupta II show that the tribes of the Sanakānikas were Śaivo-Buddhists and that they make no reference to the huge image of the Man-boar incarnation of Viṣṇu believed to be set up by the Gupta king in order to commemorate the rescue of his sister-in-law Dhruvasvāminī from the clutches of the Huṇas. Similarly, the Sāñchī-stone-Inscription seems to be peculiar for the mention of the “Pancha-maṇḍalī” (the village jury of five persons) in order to regulate the contributions made in terms of the Roman dinars, though the coins of Chandragupta II still show traces of Greek characters and describe him as “Paramabhāgavata” (the follower of the cult of Vāsudeva). We find a tinge of the Brāhmannic laws in the description of the five major offences (Pañcānantarya-dharma namely, matricide, patricide, the killing of an Arhat or a Brāhmin, shedding the blood of the Buddha and causing division among the Buddhists; and also the six Abhiṭhānas of the Aśokan inscriptions) when it includes the killing of a cow in the same category of crimes. The corresponding Licchavi inscriptions differ entirely from the Gupta inscriptions in the categorisation of the “Five deadly-sins” and Pañcaśīla. However, the mention of the village jury of five elders seems to be a legacy of the village Panchayāet which originally formed part of the 18 Guilds of artisans mentioned in the early records of the Himālayan Janapadas (Republican states) and the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal. Mysterious inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Delhi under the name of Chandra and with the conventional claim of world conquest in the fifth century have been attributed to Chandragupta II, but it is remarkable that Chandra-Gomī, Chandra-Varman and Chandrāmśa-Nāga occur in the corresponding records of the Mālava-Gaṇa-rājyas (People’s Republics of Mālwa) and Nepal to challenge the claim. The distinguishing feature of the Gupta dynasty of India was their devotion to the cult of holy Bhāgavata and their patronage of the intellectual community of Brāhmins including Kalidāsa who flattered their

boast of heraldry by writing such exquisite poetical works as Raghuvamśa on the basis of the Hindu epic of Rāmāyaṇa indited by the Kauśikan poet Bālmiki. During his stay in Ujjain Chandra-gupta appears to have rallied round him the greatest intellectual figures, artists and architects who built the Gupta temples, small shrines of Yakṣas, Yakṣīs, Śiva, Vāsudeva and Devīs which appear to have imparted a distinctive feature to the sculpture, architecture and literature of the Gupta period. Most important historical event mentioned in the works of Kālidāsa is the rise of the Huṇas in the political horizon of India. The Ābhīras (Avars) and Huṇas (Huns) impart to Nepalese and Indian history a universal character.

Kumāra-Gupta I

However, we find the growing influence of the Brāhmannic revival in the art and culture of Kumāra-gupta under the direct inspiration of Dvaipāyana's Smṛtis (laws). Like his forefathers he is proud of his Licchavi lineage through Dhruva-devī and claims to be a follower of the Vaiṣṇavite cult of holy Bhāgavata. For the first time we find the mention of "Saddharma" (true law) and Mālava-era in Gupta inscriptions. There is a pun on the name of Dhruva-śarmma in connection with the building of a temple in the Bilsad Etah district of the United provinces of India. The two names Dhruva-devī and the memorial to the achievements of Dhruva-śarmma give a clue to the episode of Dhruvasvāminī and Chandra-gupta II. The name of a Brāhmin known as Vārāhasvāmi in the copper plate inscription of Kumaragupta (Bhandārkar, List, No. 1267) links it directly with Vārāhasvāmi Umāsoma mentioned in the Inscription of Jīṣṇugupta (Gnoli LIX p. 79). We have explained the religious and historical significance of the image of Man-boar (Vārāha) incarnation of Viṣṇu in Chapter XVI which will speak for itself. The rural and social life of the people is now controlled by the Aṣṭakulas (the representatives of eight aristocratic families) in place of the Pañcamaṇḍali (the elective body of five village elders), under the jurisdiction of their own Adhikaraṇas (Judicial courts) charged with the administration of justice, law and order.¹³³

A comparative study of the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal and the Gupta Inscriptions of India reveals that, though Dvaipāyana, Vaiśampāyana and Anuparamagupta had done their share of introducing the cult of the

holy Vāsudeva, the Licchavi kings appear to have formed part of the confederation of the Paśupati-bhaṭṭārakas with strong Buddhistic predilections which tended to even the rough edges of Brāhmannic orthodoxy in the changing world of the Ābhīras (Avars) and Huṇas (Huns). In this transition, the common peoples themselves appear to have played a great role. The protocol of the gods of different faiths, their festivals and religious processions as well as those of the officers of state and common people seem to be inspired by the idea of improving human behaviour and attaining higher spirituality and perfected humanity in and through the practices of "Kāraṇa-pūjās" in every home. The chronological order of the Brāhmannic and Buddhistic patriarchs mentioned in the Nepalese inscriptions seem to be sanctioned by the usages of the trans-Himālayan and Indian peoples. Unlike the mention of Manu and Dvaipāyana with divine attributes in the Gupta inscriptions, the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal put them up as the opponents of the religious paths prescribed by the Buddhistic Saugatas and work out a compromise between them in their new scheme of Bhairavi-cakra through the agency of Vaiśampāyana. In the detached way of the scientists, the inscriptions of the Ābhīras (Avars) probe into human behaviour, customs, traditions and beliefs, and gain a close insight into the mentality of the mixed peoples of Asia on the eve of the adventures of the Huns and Avars in Europe and India after their subjugation of China. Unlike the confusion in the expression of religious faith with the varying doctrines of Gupta-Inscriptions, such leaders of transport and trade as Guha-mitra, Ratnasaṅgha and Prabhusaṅgha in the contemporary Nepalese inscriptions freely and firmly subscribe to King Māna Deva's philosophy of Bhairavi-cakra by erecting images and Liṅgas over ring-stones as a spiritual prescription and therapy against human sufferings. The address to the Pañcas (elected village elders of five) is most polite and the functions of the various Adhikaraṇas (Law-courts) seem to be very well defined, so that they may not infringe upon the jurisdiction of the village elders. The army and police seem to be very well organised with appropriate laws of war and peace and with a warrant or precedence rarely seen in the corresponding inscriptions of other parts of the world. As to economic organisation, the Licchavi kings appear to have followed the Śaka-system of coinage which gave them a direct link with the rising power of the Huns and Avars, while

the Dināra (gold coins) of the Gupta kings was a feeble copy of the Roman Denarius stamped with some local dynastic peculiarities.

A comparative study of the Eras adopted by the Licchavi kings of Nepal and the Gupta kings of India.

Further to our brief observation at the outset of this chapter as to the veracity of the era adopted by the Guptas, it would be useful to state at this stage how the historical, religious and social implications of the Era of King Māna Deva I follow as a practical sequel to the Nirvāṇa, Śaka and King Kaṇiṣhka's eras in the context of religious transition from Dharma-cakra to Bhairavi—cakra through the agency of the astro-psychic scheme of Kāla-cakra. We have already pointed out with reference to the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-Epigraph how the Greek king Menander and the succeeding Śaka and Pahlava kings were responsible for the introduction of their eras in the wake of the Nirvāṇa Era. Then, too, we have said with reference to the Yūpa Inscriptions of the mixed tribes of the Maukhāris dated Kṛta year 295 (238 A. D.) how the Gaṇa-rājyas (People's Republics) of Mālava-peoples imported it to Rājputānā from their original home of the Punjab in Pakistan before the age of King Śaka Usavadāta (C. 118-23 A. D.). After the development of the Brāhmannic legend of Vikramāditya (the Sun of Brāhmannic power) in the city of Ujjain, the intellectual community of Brāhmins appear to have given Chandra-gupta II the title of Śakāri (enemy of Śakas) and associated him with the vague Vikrama-era over the ashes of what they called the Era of the slaves.

A scientific survey of the dates used by the Gupta kings tend to show that the Gupta era, which became connected with the name of Vikramāditya about the 8th century A. D., was earlier known as the Kṛtayūga in the inscriptions of Mālava-gaṇa-rājyas (People's Republics of Mālava tribes). The inscription of Aṃśuvarman (Gnoli : XXXV line 1 p. 48) faithfully follows the same spelling of Kṛta-era. As regards Kṛta, we have also the spelling Kṛita in early records, which was misspelt as Kṛita (bought) and used the expression Kṛita-yūga as the era of the foreign slaves. We have pointed out how Hsüan-tsang quotes the Buddhist traditions of Madhyāntika, who preached Buddhism in Gāndhāra and Kāshmīra, to the effect that the orthodox Buddhist teacher built 500 monasteries and bought foreign

slaves to serve the monks. Sometimes after his death these slaves became the rulers of the country; but as some of the reactionary Brāhmannic states despised them as low-caste peoples, they preferred to call the era brought by the Mālava-peoples as the Kṛta-yûga or in other words, the era introduced by the slaves. Judging from the mention of Amṣuvarman in the records of Hsüan-tsang and the former's spelling of Kṛta-yûga, exactly, as it is spelt in the earlier inscriptions of the mixed Mālava peoples, we do not find the same prejudice against the Mālava-era of the Maukhāris in the Nepalese inscriptions as do the inscriptions of the Gupta kings. Unaware of the Suvarṇagotra (Gold-race) origin of the Śaka and the allied Scytho-Parthian and Indo-Greek tribes, the orthodox religious leaders appear to have branded the mixed peoples as low-born slaves. We have discussed the ethnic origin of the Gold-race peoples in Chapter X and amply explained in note 127 how these so-called slaves of history were basically the Suvarṇagotra peoples who were opposed to caste or class prejudices and who went ahead to emancipate mankind from caste, colour or credal prejudices on the basis of their faith in "Saddharma" (true law). The fact that this Kṛta-yûga is a continuation of the Śaka-era is proved by the Takhtî-vāhi inscription of Gondopharnes (Gandapraṇa) who was a contemporary of the Christian saint Thomas in the first century A.D. The vagaries of the era used by the Gupta kings can be seen in the Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Buddhagupta (Fleet. Corp Ins. Ind. III, p. 89) where the date is *Thursday June 21st Gupta year 165*. For all we know, Varāhamihira was the earliest astronomer to popularise the week-days in India. The influence of the works of the Greek astronomer Paul of Alexandria of the last quarter of the fourth century and other Greco-Roman authors on the works of Varāhamihira known as Paulīśa-siddhānta and Romaka-siddhānta, is acknowledged by Indian astronomers. We do not find the mention of week-days in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal. It would be difficult to identify the Gupta-year 165 with 464 A.D. because the works of Varāhamihira appeared only in 587 A.D. Such an early use of the name of the week-days in the inscriptions of king Buddhagupta, if the date is correctly interpreted, cannot be explained otherwise.

The Mandasor-stone-inscription of Kumāra-gupta I and Bandhavarman (Fleet, Corp Ins Ind, III p 81 ff) occurring in what is today the

Gwalior of Central India show that the People's Republics of the Mālavas were now under the occupation of the Huṇas. Both Professors Fleet and Bhandarkar are at their wit's end to account for the actual date of the era. If the date of the inscription is to be expressed in terms of the Śaka-era (as Professors Fleet and Bhāndarkar believed it to be), the date of Mālava *year* 496 would work to about 573-574 A.D. and not 436 A.D. as some scholars have presumed. Paleographically this record belongs to the last quarter of the 5th century which perfectly accords with Vijayasvāmīn's Inscriptions of Nepal. It is also difficult to explain the paradoxical date of 529 occurring in the same Inscription. Judging from the contemporary evidences of the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, Bandhu-varmān was very much alive and independent and he does not acknowledge the overlordship of King Kumāragupta while he was reigning. Then, too, the inscription of King Kumāragupta show clearly that a struggle for the throne of the Gupta kings seems to be going on during the early years of his reign. We have explained in Chapter VIII and note¹¹⁷ the close connections existing between the Licchavi kings of Nepal and the Varmān kings of the Mālava-janapadas (Republican states of Mālwa) which appear to have modelled themselves upon the early Buddhist republican states of the Himālayas mentioned at the very outset of this book. Like the contemporary Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, the Inscription under review shows the looseness of the bond of caste restrictions in Central India vis-a-vis the rigid division of caste system obtaining in the courts of the Gupta king in Bihar. We have also adequately discussed how the Huṇa kings of India believed in the cult of Paśupati as Sthāṇu-Śiva. The Ābhīras of Nepal namely, Paramābhimāni and Anuparama-gupta, appear to have held a sober view in their assessment of the Buddhistic cosmology and meditation vis-a-vis the dogmatic doctrines of the Brāhmannic patriarchs (Manu and Dvaipāyana), while Ābhīri, judging from her inscription (Gnoli XVI p. 23), appears to have believed in the Pāśupat cult of sensory perception and erected the phallic symbol of Anuparameśvara to commemorate her dead husband, who was the author of the celebrated inscription of the Pilaster of Hari-gaon. The laboured diction and rhetoric of the Gupta Inscriptions do not match the dignity and reality of the corresponding Licchavi inscriptions at a period when the Huṇas and the Ābhīras seem to be converging to a synthesis in Central India and Central

Asia. Already with the dramatic works of Kālidāsa, we have heard about the inroads of the Huṇas on the kingdom of the Guptas. If we interpret the Mālava-year 529 (=472-73 A.D.), the occupation of Central India by the Huṇas appears to have thrown the Gupta kingdom into a state of terror and confusion. We have already seen how the Huṇas had shown greatest migrative activities in Europe during the 4th and 5th centuries, when they tried to pull down the structures of the Roman and other European kingdoms under their leader Attila (406-53 A.D.). However, Kālidāsa places the land of the Huṇas on the Oxus. At a time when there was a tug-of-war between the Varmān rulers of the republics of Central India and the Gupta kings of Bihar, the Huṇas appear to have knocked at the Western Gates of India and ultimately succeeded in establishing an empire which extended from Central Asia to Central India with the Gurjāra peoples as their allies. Against such a historical background, the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, bearing Śaka-era and the title of Paśupat-bhaṭṭārakas and the basic faith of the Ābhīras (Avars) and of the Huṇas (Huns) in Sthāṇu-Śiva (Paśupati), seem to be very much more important from the point of view of world-history than the rhetorics of the Gupta inscriptions with their conventional claims for world-conquest and universal reign of the Almighty Viṣṇu. Despite the claim of the success of the Gupta-kings over the Huṇas, the latter appear as a political power in the history of India till the 12th century when they are finally assimilated into the Hindu society as the 36 clans of Rajputs.¹³⁴

On the evidences of the Tibetan documents Professor G. Tucci in his "Tombs of the Tibetan kings (Roma 1950 pp. 63-64)", writes to say that T'o yo gon, T'u yu hun and A za were the same people as the Huṇas whom the inscriptions of Nepal identify with the country of Bhoṭṭa (Boda). But as A za claimed to be the ruling clan over the peoples known as T'u yu hun and T'o yo gon, we may see traces of this internal dissension in the facts recorded in the Annals of China to the effect that So-ho-kuei, who was the chief minister of T'u yu hun, fled to T'u fan and divulged all their weak points so that the T'u fan succeeded in destroying the state (Bushell, p. 447). In "Documents de Tousen Houang relatifs a l'histoire du Tibet (edited by J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas and Ch. Toussaint on 1940 in Paris), there is mention only of the "A za" as being the highest dignitary of the Tibetan state known as Dar rgyal to the total neglect of the mass of

peoples known as T'u yu hun. It is also seen from a scientific analysis of the Licchavi inscriptions that the relation of the masses of the Hunnic peoples of Tibet and Central Asia to the betraying tribe of the A za was not friendly and peaceful. Unacquainted with the history of the Ābhīras and the Huṇas, Samudragupta merely mentions the Ābhīras without identifying them with the kingdom of Nepal, while Kālidāsa and Harṣacarita (the life of Harṣa) put the land of the Huṇas (Huṇavāsta) somewhere on the banks of the river Oxus and the Punjab respectively. Professor Bailey suggests very rightly that the syllable Hun of the word T'u yu hun was the basis of the Sanskrit, Khotanese and Tibetan word Huṇa. The contemporary literature of Tibet, Central Asia and China seems to be aware of the Licchavis and Gomīs (Ābhīras) as the teachers of their mixed peoples as far as China. According to the chronology of the Ābhīras obtaining in the Licchavi inscription of Nepal, they appear with the cognomen Gomī or Gomīn which is translated as the " Perfect Moon " in the trans-Himālayan documents. Sylvain Levi has very ably discussed the significance of this cognomen " Gomīn " without knowing that they were of the origin of the Ābhīras. Unlike the Śākyas and Kolīs of solar dynasty, the Ābhīras claim lunar origin in the footsteps of the Śākas who opposed Darius, Xerxes and Alexander. That explains the mystery as to the origin of the Ābhīra dynasty of the Nepalese chronology and generally of the Ābhīrian peoples mentioned in Chapters I & VIII and the corresponding notes 115 and 116. Thus when the tribal masses of T'u yu hun seem to be forming themselves under the abbreviated form of Hun or Huṇa, the religious teachers of these interesting peoples were the Gomīs who were of Ābhīrian origin. The Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal are positive that the Ābhīras, despite their Vedic and Vaiṣṇavite predilections, appear with the title of Paśupati Bhaṭṭārakas side by side with the Licchavi kings. This accounts for the basic faith of the Huṇas (Huns) who appear to have believed in Sthāṇu-Śiva or Paśupati on the eve of their great adventures in the decadent empires of Asia and Europe. Against such a historical background the chronology of the Ābhīras comprised by Paramābhīmānī, Mānagupta, Anuparamagupta, Bhaumagupta, Aṃśuvarmān, Vibhuvārmān, Jīṣṇugupta and Viṣṇugupta in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal need a close hard prying. These Gomīs were

Ābhīras and they have nothing to do with the contemporary Gupta kings of India. The religious, social, judicial customs and economic systems described in their inscriptions do not show any link with the Gupta inscriptions of India. Every evidence of this formative period in the Himālayas and Central Asia tend to the conclusion that the fourth and the fifth centuries, which were centuries of disaster and retrogression in India, China and Europe, were most prolific spiritually in the Himālayan and Central Asiatic Republican States leading to the emergence of the Huns and Avars as factors in world history.¹³⁵

Assessment of the Inscriptions of King Skanda-gupta :

The Junāgarh rock inscriptions of king Skandagupta, discovered in the Junāgarh state of Kāthiāwār and dated Gupta year 138, invokes the midget incarnation of Viṣṇu as Vāmana for the overthrow of king Bali from power for the restoration of the Vedic rights of Indra in his heavenly abode inhabited by 330 million subject gods. Unlike the historical link of king Māna Deva's inscription of Vāmana with the Aśokan inscription of Lumbinî (see Chapter V), Skanda-gupta's inscription thanks Viṣṇu for the victory of his local governors who, like so many Garuḍas (mythical mounts of Viṣṇu), used their authority in the capacity of " Nîrviṣi (Himālayan herb used as antidote against snake poison) the snake-like and hostile Mleccha kings (low-caste kings outside the pale of the Brāhmannic fold). He describes his time as wicked, abject and full of vice and is afraid of appointing governors to the western countries, where the Hunas and the Gurjāras contended their power with the Gupta kings. In his own way Levi finds a parallel for " Nîrviṣi " in the expression of " nirbhiḥ simha " (intrepid lion) occurring in Manā Deva's inscription of Chāngu Nārāyaṇa (Gnoli I : Face III line 16 p 4). It is remarkable that the jackal-like-lion at the right foot of the image of Durgā Vijayaśhree and superinscribed in the Bhoginî series of Māhāñka-coins (see Chapter XVI) as well as the powerful story of Queen Rājyavatî and Māna Deva—appear to have inspired Skanda-gupta with the legend of Kṛiṣṇa-Devakî in his Bhitari-stone-pillar Inscription (Fleet, Corp. Ins. Ind., III, p. 53 f).

The times are difficult and the rival Gupta houses contended for power, while the Huns and the Gurjāras disciplined by the Ābhīras made repeated

incursions upon the Gupta-kingdom. Unable to find reliable men to take care of their jobs in his difficult time, he contents himself with prayers to the Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu in his **THREE INCOMPREHENSIBLE STEPS** and in imagining the character of a powerful and capable person who could rise up to the occasion, quell the revolts of the peoples and deal firmly with the new situation that has stared the country in the face. In his dilemma Skanda-gupta does not find a General or a Viceroy to take care of the Hunnic invasions, and he offers himself and his Crown-prince as examples of men endowed with a solid physical frame, handsome feature, self-controlled and self-possessed and inspired with faith for the all-pervading and omnipotent incarnation of Viṣṇu as the Midget who baffled king Balī by his subterfuge. Though a follower of the cult of the holy Vāsudeva at the outset of his difficult career, we find a steady change in his faith for the cult of the Great Mother Goddess under the influence of saint Vaiśampāyana. He appears to have begun with the worship of the Seven Divine Mothers (namely, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Māhendrī, Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍā). Then he seems to have fumbled on to the worship of the Eight Divine Mothers led by Caṇḍī (namely, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Caṇḍī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī and Caccikē). Then progressively he appears to have adopted the worship of “Nava-durgās” (Nine Divine Mothers) and finally raised the number of the Divine Mothers to 16. In the inscriptions of the Royal dynasties of the Kādamvas and the Cālukyas, these Divine Mothers are mentioned side by side with Mahāsena (the war-god Skanda).

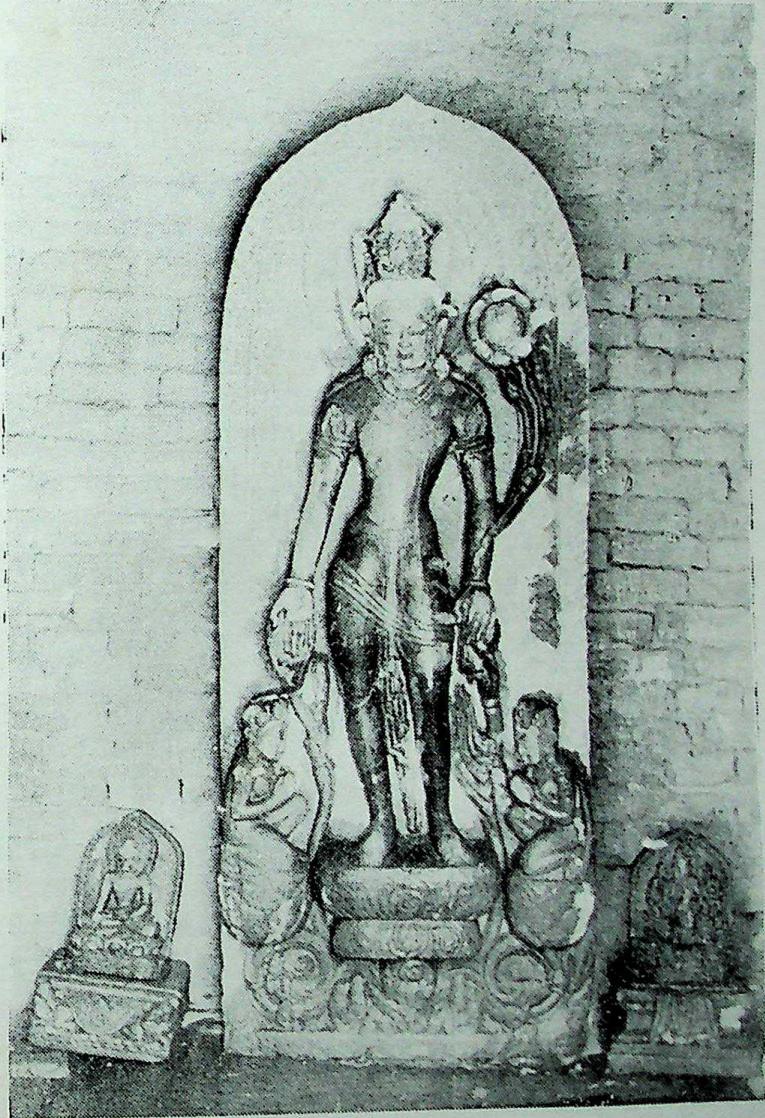
Then, too, we find mentions of some concrete constructive works for his people in the repair of the breach of the Sudarsana lake caused by floods. Professor Fleet believes that the embankment of the lake, originally built to help the cultivators of the Junagarh region, “was 100 cubits in length, 60 cubits in breadth and 7 men’s height in elevation. This is the first mention of beneficent activities for the people in the inscriptions of the Gupta kings. He also appears to have respected the Yakṣa-custom Akṣyanibī (permanent endowment of land), the income from which could be applied to the maintenance of a lamp dedicated to the worship of the Sun-god. We also find the increasing influence of the concepts of Bhadrā (Pārvatī) and Maheśvara and of Samyak-sambuddha on the inscriptions of the period of Skanda-gupta.

The coins of king Skandagupta :

From representations in Allan's Catalogue (No. 454, Plate XX, Nos. 13 ff) dated Gupta years 146 and 148, the silver coins of king Skanda-gupta are still feeble copies of the Roman Dinars. On some specimen we see the Nandi (bull) of Śiva (as in the Licchavi coins of Nepal) while the Garuḍa show Vedic burning alters in the centre. The obverse shows the bust of king to right with traces of Greek legend, while the reverse shows the Vedic burning alter at the centre with the legend in Gupta characters as follows : " Paramabhāgavata—Śhree Vikramāditya Skanda-gupta " meaning " the follower of the cult of the Great Bhāgavata Śire sun of power Skanda-gupta. The legends differ in different specimen to show that various religious, political and economic influences seem to be working during the reign of king Skanda-gupta, and that he had not been able to shake off foreign economic domination during his time.

Scholars have laboured hard to notice a similarity between king Māna Deva's Pillar Inscription of Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa dated Śaka year 386 (464 A.D.) and king Skandagupta's inscriptions of the village of Bhitari, which is located near Sayyidpur in the Ghazipur district of the United Provinces of India. Much confusion was created by the misdating of the Licchavi era by Professor Levi who thought that the starting point of the era used by king Māna Deva was 110 A.D. It has now been established by eminent Nepalese scholars and Professor Luciano Petech on the basis of the multiplying evidences of Nepalese inscriptions *that* the starting point of the era represented on the victory pillar of Māna Deva's Inscription was the continuation in progressive religious setting of the era of king Kaṇishka in 78 A.D. We have adequately pointed out elsewhere how the Inscription of Vandhuvarmān and Kumāragupta I have much more in common with the Nepalese Inscriptions in archaic northern Brāhmī characters than the inscriptions of King Skandagupta. The discovery of the coins of Kaṇishka in Gaṇḍakī have now established that the starting point was the Kaṇishka era. The real theme of Queen Mother Rājyavatī's attempt of self-immolation on the death of king Dharmma-deva depicted in Māna Deva's Inscription presents a contrast to the cheep legend of Kṛiṣṇa-Devakī borrowed from the Life of Kṛiṣṇa (Kṛiṣṇa-carita) which seems to have develop

Plate No. XX



The most unique image of Avalokiteśvara set up by Prativā Dharmma Jivah and dated during the Era of King Māna Deva I in the heart of Lalitpur.

in India with the Sātavāhana kings. The story of a brave Mother inspiring her son has been a favourite subject for poets and dramatists from the time of Alexander the Great. Skand-agupta's account of his war against the Huṇas as well as the legend of Vikramāditya (sun of power) depicted in his silver coins throw light on the tradition of king Rāma-gupta and Vijaya-svāminî (Dhruvasvāminî or Dhruvadevî) contained in the fragmentary drama called Devicandraguptam discovered by Sylvain Levi and Sarasvati in 1923. According to "The ocean of story" (N.M. Penzer Vol III p. 290), the traditional Vikramāditya was known as the protector of ladies' honour. In addition to the inscription of the coin of Kācha, the existence of King Rāmagupta, as a successor to king Samudragupta, is further attested by some copper coins of Mālwā, which bear the legend of " Rāmagupta " in the normal Gupta characters. Skandagupta's assumption of the title of " Paramabhāgavata Śhree Vikramāditya " may be a garbled version of an earlier tradition of Dhruvasvāminî and Rāmagupta which recalls the Śaka or Khasa conquest of Western India described in the fragmentary drama composed by the dramatist Viśākhādatta. The tradition of Vikramāditya assumed by Skanda-gupta after his war with the Huṇas definitely seems to be a later tradition as the Huṇas were not known to Samudragupta as political factors in the politics of Indian subcontinent.

Mr. S. N. Mukherji in his able article known as " The tradition of Rāmagupta and the Indian historians " observes : " Most Indian historians reject the story of Rāmagupta as unhistorical. The real difficulty of the Indian authorities in accepting the historicity of the story is connected with the Indian national movement. The nationalist historians in trying to restore national prestige, which was humiliated by foreign rule looked back upon a golden age '. This ' golden age ' was found in Gupta Inscription. The Guptas were depicted as Liberators from foreign rule, and Candragutpa II Vikramāditya became a national hero. In this cult of the ' golden age ' the historical figures are distorted by the projection of modern ideas of a hero on them. Hence it is difficult to believe that a son of Samudragupta, the Indian Napoleon would kill his brother and marry his brother's wife. Professor R.C. Majumdar finds, that, the killing of a brother and the marrying of a brother's wife, ' clashes with our cherished notions of morality and decorum, Professor Majumdar forgets that his cherished notions of morality

belong to the nineteenth and twentieth century Hindu Middle class. The fraternal affection and the motherly love of a sister-in-law is an ideal of Hindu family life. There were so many novels written on that theme in the early years of this century. A King of Kings of the fourth century could hardly be judged by the moral standard of modern middle class. Ray-chowdhury also suffered from the same difficulty when he tried to explain that the word 'bhrāta' and 'bandhu' do not necessarily prove that Rāmagupta was a brother or a step brother of Candragupta, as the word may mean a cousin relation or friend. This point becomes clear, when we find that the 18th century Brāhmin-puṇḍits, did not find it difficult to believe that Vikramāditya killed his brother. He viewed the past with a different set of values. The Guptas were not the national liberators that some nationalist historians would have us believe. In fact according to the informers of Alberuni they were a very wicked people. Their history was quite forgotten until the reading of the Allahabad pillar inscription in the 19th century. Thus the nationalist historians are unable to believe the story as it would not fit in with their concept of Gupta history. The myth of the 'golden age' served a great purpose in the liberation of India from foreign rule. But when that end is achieved the work of the nationalist historians becomes a part of the study of historiography, and here they follow the same fate as the Whig historians of England."

The story of Dhruvāsvāminī and Rāmagupta has been embellished by the celebrated Indian poet Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* (Life of Harṣa) on the basis of the drama of *Devicandraguptam* composed by Viśākhādatta. We have no means of ascertaining the date of the dramatist Viśākhādatta who may be "Kautsaśśāva" (Kauśik poet) famous for his knowledge of grammar, logic and of the world referred to as a Minister of Candragupta II in the Udayagiri Cave inscription No 2 (Bhandarkar List 1240 and 1561 stanza 4). Another title known as *Mudrārākṣasa* is also attributed to Viśākhādatta who relates the same story in the context of changing loyalties with the change of Master. He belonged to Pāṭaliputra (Patna). It was this Kauśik poet who associates Candragupta II with the tradition of Vikramāditya where a Buddhist Soḍhala has put up a sister inscription consecrated by the Buddhistic form of donation. Soḍhala claims to belong to the tribe of Sanakānika, and judging from the title of Mahārāja associated with

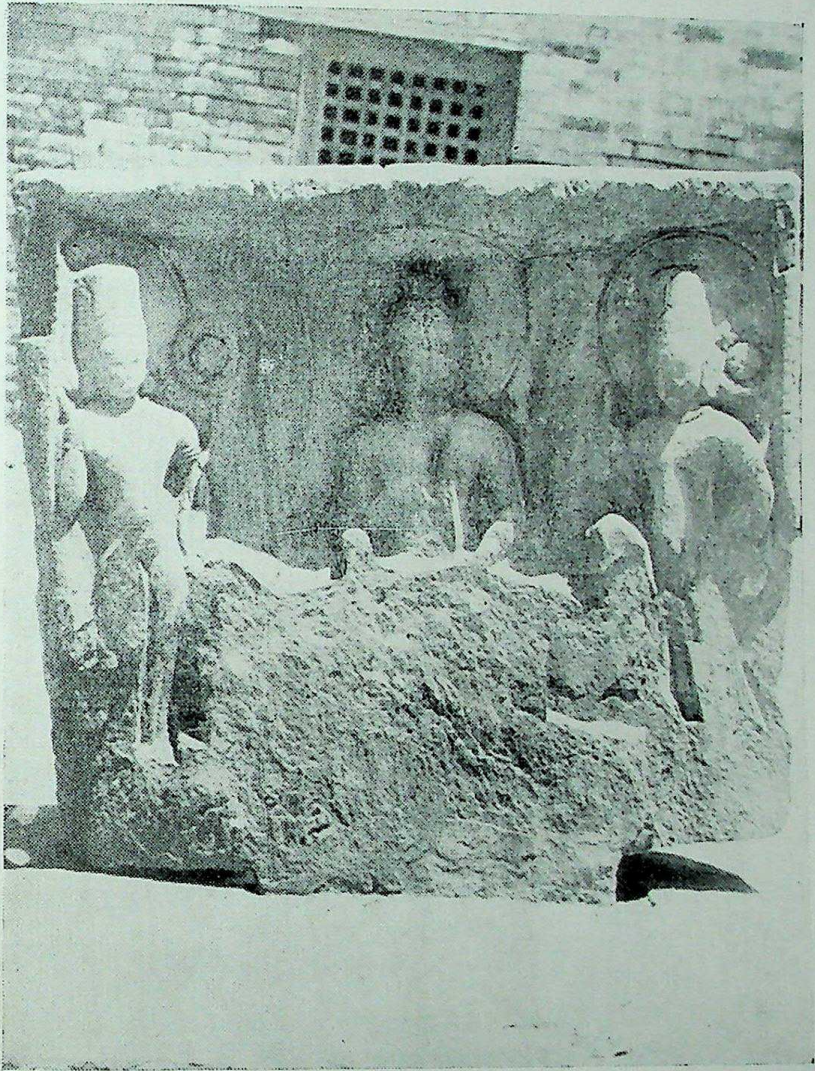
his forefathers Chḥagalaga and Viṣṇudāsa, Sodhala appears to have tried to include Candragupta II as the chief of the federation of the Bhaṭṭārakas (brother kings). A comparative study of the two inscriptions gives us the impression that the Kauśiks had now effected a compromise with Śaivism in their attack against Buddhism professed by the tribes of Sanakānikas. We thus see that the two inscriptions of Udayagiri show the conflicts in the minds of the Kauśiks of Patna and the Sanakānikas of Central India. The faith of these peoples and the thoughts that influenced them on the eve of the Hunnic invasion of India is much more important than credulity of the nationalist historians, that the dynastic history of the Guptas was free from dynastic disputes, and that Candragupta I, Samudragupta, Ramāgupta, Vikramāditya, Kumāragupta I and Skanda-gupta conquered the Licchavis, Ābhīras, Śakamuruṇḍas and Huṇas at one sweep and established their undisputed empire from the fourth to the sixth centuries. There could be no doubt that this particular incident gave rise to a great literary activity, and according to S. Levi and Indian Antiquaries (1923 p. 181) the story of the drama together with other traditions can be summarised as follows : There was a king called Ramāgupta who was weak, impotent and incapable. His kingdom was invaded by a powerful Śaka or Khasa king after the disaster of his army in the Himālayas, and Rāmāgupta's capital was besieged. As a reprisal, the Śaka or Khasa king demanded the hands of his wife Dhruvā svāminī and Ramāgupta surrendered her with a view to save himself and his subjects. Ramāgupta's younger brother Candragupta II Vikramāditya protested against this act of dishonour and offered to go to the enemy's camp in the guise of his sister-in-law, and kill the Śaka ruler. Candragupta II succeeded in his plan and Dhruvasvāminī and the citizens became indebted to him at the expense of his cowardly brother. At this, king Ramāgupta became suspicious of his brother leading to open hostility between the two. Finally Candragupta II killed his brother Rāmāgupta, took over the kingdom and married his siter-in-law Dhruvasvāminī."

The poet Bāṇa only tells us a part of the story to the effect that Candragupta II in the guise of a woman killed a Śākadhipati (=Śākamuruṇḍa= king of the Śakas) but he does not tell us who he was and what name the Śākamuruṇḍa bore. From the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Vol XIII pp 230-231) we know that the name of the

queen was Dhruvasvāminî and that she was the sister-in-law of Candragupta II. But Bāṇa's work leaves out the other part of the story of the drama of Devicandraguptam to the effect that Candragupta Vikramāditya killed his brother Rāmagupta and married his sister-in-law Dhruvasvāminî. According to the Harṣa-carita (Life of Harṣa edited by F.B. Cowell, London 1897 pp 192-194) the reference to this story is made by Harṣa's general Skandagupta who related it as an example of the danger of not being on one's guard against the enemies from the north. From Hsüan-tsang's travels we know that the traditional Vikramāditya was as famous for his gifts as Śīlāditya (king Harṣavardhan) had been when the Chinese pilgrim met him. We find the full account of this story of a Gupta king who killed his brother, took over his kingdom and married his wife in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa copper plates of the 9th century. It is remarkable that the poet Rājaśekhara, in his work known as Kāvya-mimāṃsā, gives a very authentic version of the story which finds its echo in the 12th century Persian work Majmalut-tawarikh to the effect that Barkamāris (Vikramāditya) killed the enemy of the family in the guise of a woman and later killed his brother and married his wife. According to the Jain tradition, the 96 Śāhis captured the capital of Ujjain with the help of Kālakasuri who took his revenge against King Garadabhalla for eloping with his sister Sarasvatî who had become a nun. It is equally interesting that the Mungher inscription of the Bengali king Devapāla followed the Gupta inscriptions in the use of the title of Śakadvisi for Brāhmannic hero Vikramāditya.

But the real fact behind these legends was the social revolution that was being effected in the Brāhmannic world of the Guptas by the King of the Śakas on the principles and practices of Suvarṇagotra which they claimed. We have already pointed out how the Vedic saints of the Himālayas had no scruples in marrying such low-caste Yakṣîs as Arundhatî and Śivālî and fisher-women Satyavatî. We have also explained how the invasion of Virudhaka upon Kapilavastu was responsible for the dispersion of the aristocratic solar race of the Śakyas, and the consequent transformation of their idea of marriage and remarriage after the impact of the Yakṣa cults. With the growing influence of the Yakṣîs and the Kinnarîs of the Kingdom of women, the cruel Śaka marriage customs gradually gave way to the impact of the Suvarṇagotra-peoples as and when they accepted the marriage princi-

Plate No. XXI



This battered basrelief of Śākyamuni, flanked by Koli Padmapāṇis as the sentinels of Atikāruṇika is presently erected over a pedestal inscribed with the Inscription dedicated to the memory of Śākya Dharma-pāla by his concubine (Bhoginī) known by the name of Mṛginī. This image occurs in the same locality as Dharma-jīva's dated basrelief of Avalokiteśa flanked by the Great Mother goddess and the Earth goddess as dispassions. Judging from Bhāravi's prayer to Atikāruṇika in Kirātārjuniya (Canto XVIII stanza 22) and the occurrence of the earliest images of Padmapāṇis (Lotus holders) in "jatā-juta" (matted lock of hair) the cult of Avalokiteśvara appears to be a synthesis of Śaivism and Buddhism in their transition which finally entered Vedic worship as the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu.

ples and practices of the Gold-races. As a progressively improving race, the Śakas did not condemn women if they left their cowardly husbands for brave and war-like mate. The Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal (Gnoli's LVII pp 76-77) show how the wives of the warriors were protected at home. With the impact of the Śakas on India the same marriage custom appears to have infiltrated among the trading communities where, for example, Somadeva does not betray moral indignation against Mānuhārā who left her husband Arthalobha for an adventurous husband Suddhadhana as it is described in a book known as " Sarita-sāgāra " (The ocean of story).

According to the inscriptions of Samudragupta, the Śakamuruṇḍas were most powerful, though he does not seem to know their relations with the Licchavis, Ābhīras and the allied tribes who seem to be forming themselves to forge ahead in the history of mankind. As with the Licchavis, Samudragupta appears to have arranged matrimonial alliance with the Śakas whom he acknowledged as the Son of God and the King of Kings. There is no indication anywhere that Samudragupta was in a position to join issue with the Śaka-chiefs and defeat them in open engagements.

The peculiarity of the Inscriptions of the Gupta kings consists in the fact that they do not mention the ancient aristocratic tribes of the Sākyas, Kolīs and Kirāntas who occur side by side with the Licchavis and the Ābhiras in the corresponding inscriptions of Nepal. If we notice the transformation of the Himālayan society with the marriage of virgins to Suvarṇakumāra under Gold-race-principles, the Gupta kings seem to be inclined to the God-race origin propagated by Manu and claimed Vedic rituals in nuptials and Vedic rights on the marriage custom of "Kanyādāna" (the ceremony concerning the giving away or the gift of a girl). Indeed, there was a thawing in the attitude of Samudragupta with the acceptance of the cult of Paśupati and the Gaṅges represented adequately in our bas-reliefs of Umā-Maheśvara and he had arranged a matrimonial alliance with the Śakas in order to placate them. But under the religious pressure of the reactionary Kauśiks, there was a difference between the Sakamuruṇḍa and Samudragupta over the agreement of Kanyādāna (the gift of a girl according to Vedic rites) and "Upādāna" (the acquisition of a bride under the principles and practices of Suvarṇagotra). After the death of Samudragupta there was a war between the Śakamuruṇḍa and Rāmagupta where the

latter was defeated and the drama of Devicandraguptam fabricated in favour of Candragupta II Vikramāditya by the Kauśik poet Viśākhādatta.

On the other hand we have presently discovered the Inscription of Vijayasvāminî dedicated to Devî-Bhagavatî-Vijaya-Shree in king Māna Deva's religious scheme of Bhairavi-cakra which gives a true version of the story of Dhruvasvāminî and her progeny in the dynastic history of Nepal. This human drama of Vijayasvāminî and Māna Deva I solves the mystery of the drama of Devi-candraguptam which has deeply stirred the imagination of the peoples of the fifth century and has found expression in dramas, coins and Inscriptions down to the 12th century. It was because king Māna Deva put love and reason above the Vedic injunctions of the Kauśiks of Pāṭaliputra (Patna) that the Brāhmins used their ingenuity to avoid the name of the Śaka king whom Candragupta II Vikramāditya murdered and rescued Dhruvasvāminî from his clutches. This discovery also repudiates the speculation of the Indian historians that the giant statue of Vārāha (Man-boar) in Udayagiri was erected by Candragupta II Vikramāditya in order to commemorate the rescue of Dhruvasvāminî.

On the whole, we can consider the Inscription of Vijayasvāminî (=Dhruvasvāminî) against a very wide religious, social and mental canvas of world history, when we have, for examples, such monumental works as the Inscription of Harigāon to the credit of the Abhîras and such achievements as the transition to Bhairavi-cakra in the fifth century in succession to Dharma-cakra and the astro-psychic system of Kāla-cakra. From the point of view of Nepal's religious, social and mental history, a complicated psychological situation appears to have developed in our scheme of the astro-psychic scheme of Kāla-cakra with the resurgence of Vedic Kauśiks with their cults of holy Bhāgavata. As a consequence the astro-psychic system of Life and Death based upon Śaivism and Buddhism needed a new drive and direction specially when the Brāhmins tended to ally themselves with the cults of Umā-Maheśvara to isolate the rational approach of Buddhism for the realisation of human values. Seeing how the common men could be made to believe in the foundationless legends of Harivaṃśa and Raghuvamśa indited by such clever Brāhmannic patriarchs as Manu and Dvaipāyana with a view to justify their Vedic revelations, an aberration in the principles and practices of the Yogic exercises and sacrifices associated

with our "Kāraṇa-pûjā" was bound, sooner or later, to lead our people astray from attaining the ultimate best in the direction of human affairs here and now. In the name of truth, the Kauśiks had tried to impose some Revelationary convictions with absolute claim of correctness on the credulity of the peoples of Himālayan Janapadas (Republican states) which tended to influence their mental attitudes and affect their human social relations.

The mental make up of the Ābhîras and the Huṇas, as they are reflected in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, seem to be such more important than the bone-dry chronology of kings who appear as fireflies in the night of Indian history. In the following Chapters XIV-XVI, we would explain the religious implications of the Inscriptions and sculptures put up by the Licchavis and the Ābhîras and interpret the significance of the Māna Deva Era on the eve of the debut of the Ābhîras (Avars) over the stage world history on the wake of the Huṇas.

The tradition of Kumāragupta I, II & III and other Gupta kings :

Historians have found it difficult to identify the periods of Kumāragupta I, II and III as well as Budhagupta, Puragupta, Narasiṃhagupta and Viṣṇugupta during the stormy period of Hunnic invasions. We have already explained how the Gomîs of Nepal were of Ābhîra origin and also how they had become intellectual leaders to the Hunnic tribes. The dynasty of Gomîs claimed lunar origin as the descendents of the Sākāh Haumavargās (the Śakas belonging to the lunar clan) mentioned in the Akhaemenian Inscriptions. Although these Ābhîras of Nepal also bore the second name "Gupta", they have nothing to do with the Gupta dynasty of India. We find the second name "Gupta" associated *with* the names of the proto-Kirānta Ābhîra dynasty of Nepal and also with the Mauryan king Caṇdragupta and his Brāhmannic teacher Viṣṇugupta (Cāṇakya) which does not seem to have anything to do with their respective castes. Generally speaking the second name Sharma for men of peaceful calling and Varma or Varmān for the people who wore armour to fight and defend themselves have been consecrated by long usages in the Chronology and Inscriptions of Nepal. The second names Pāla, Jīvas, Līla and Rakṣā seem to be reserved for the names of the Śākyas and Kolîs of Buddhist

Himālayas. Similarly, the second name "Mitra" seems *to* be reserved for traders and organisers of transport.

Subsequent to the chronology of the Ābhīras with the cognomen Gomî who play their part in Central Asia, Tibet and China, Ravigupta and Bhavagupta appear in the capacity of Chief of Police and Master of Ceremonies (Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka-Mahāpratihāra) in the Inscriptions of king Vasantadeva. After the inscription of the Pilaster of Harigāon, Virocana-gupta appears as "Yājñika" (performers of sacrifices). In either case, the caste of the Ābhīras are not mentioned, though their job-descriptions are clearly defined. If Anuparmagupta most ably put up the thesis of such Brāhmannic patriarchs as Manu, Yama, Brhaspati, Uśanasa and Dvaipāyana, as a refutation of the atheistical doctrines of the Saugatas, we do not find in his inscription any reference to the dictum as to the irrevocality of land granted to the Brāhmins. The address to the village elders and the 18 guilds of artisans is most polite. The Brāhmannic dictum, when it appears in the inscription of King Vasantadeva, is qualified with the word "Bhuktā" which guarantees human rights of possession in lieu of "Dattā" in the sense of a gift of land without compensation made to the sacred order of the Brāhmins as the representatives of Brahmā and Viṣṇu on earth, which are found from the time of Sātavāhanas down to the period of the Gupta kings of India. We have adequately discussed the religious implications of this formulary attributed to Mānava-dharmaśāstra (the irrevocable laws guiding the behaviour of men) attributed to the Brāhmannic law-giver Manu in our Notes 45 and 46. After his victory over the Mallas king Māna Deva politely asks his pious Queen-mother Rājyavatī to make a voluntary gift to the Brāhmins with a happy heart. But when this abject formulary lays down, on the authority of the acts of the legendary king Sagara that the person, who confiscates or abets confiscation of land donated by self or by others, is condemned to the suffering, along with his ancestors, as worms in the dung-heap, we notice violent opposition to the dictum of Dvaipāyana from the common peoples. For, this form of Brahmannic formulary is contrary to the spirit and content of the Buddhistic formulary of donation of "Deyadhammoyam" etc. which implies the idea of disinterested charity in conformity with the Buddhistic rules of life. The dictum of Dvaipāyana introduces a sense of creeping sin

and an element of helplessness in the face of destiny to the otherwise robust peoples who accepted the challenge of life and faced death without the fear of Hell and the prospects of Heaven. It is a cry of despair from down-trodden India and the very first example of the encroachment of the impending doom of the evil cycle of Kali-yuga vis-a-vis the hopes of the Human Millennia held out by the Nirvāṇa, Śaka and Māna-Deva eras.

Professor S. Levi establishes that these abominable formularies of the Brāhmānic Dharmaśāstras (laws of scriptures) appear considerably earlier in the protocols of India than in the Inscriptions of Nepal. Although king Vasanta-deva introduced this dictum with adequate safeguards, the peoples of all walks of life fought hard to change and refute the very content of the dictum in succeeding generations which led to revolutionary religious developments. By contrast, not without reason, the epigraphical records of Central Asia follow the religious concept of "Saddharma" (true law) under the leadership of the Gomīs, which the records of Indo-China totally ignore the usage of the consecrated dictum of Dvaipāyana as a sacred literature. For one thing, however, the impact of the Bhāgavata cult of Dvaipāyana appears to have driven a deep wedge between the descendents of Queen Kṣemasundarī and Bhoginī Vijayasvāminī in the dynastic disputes of the Licchavi kings of Nepal with disastrous consequences on the political coalascences of power in the Himālayas.¹³⁶

A comparative study of the coalescences and divisions of the Paśupati Bhaṭṭārakas obtaining in the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal and the Gupta Inscriptions of India :

The chronologies of the Licchavis, Ābhīras and other brother-kings obtaining in the 4th-5th century Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal would help us to understand the religious, social and political situation of the Himālayan, trans-Himālayan and Indian states much better than the Gupta inscriptions of India. It is most fortunate that, after the discovery of the Inscription of Vijayasvaminī, the related Inscriptions of her daughter Vijayavatī and Vārtta Devalābha (Mahādeva), Vāmana-deva Bhāravi (Manadeva II) and Bhauma-gupta have been recently discovered which throw a flood of light on the political situation of the period. Unlike the Gupta inscriptions of India, the Licchavi Inscriptions do not mention the Huṇas as their enemies. A number of names appearing in these Inscriptions are

mentioned in the records of Tibet, India, Central Asia and China. The Licchavi dynasty during the 4th and 5th century yields the following names of her kings :

Vṛṣa-deva,

Bālārcana-deva

Saṅkara-deva

Dharma-deva (Rājyavatî—the sister of Mālava King Naravarmma)
Māna Deva I (Kṣemasundarî, Guṇavatî and Vijayasvāminî).

The corresponding dynasty of king Mahî-deva who married Vijayavatî—the daughter of Vijayasvāminî and Māna Deva, yields the name of Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Vasurāja. King Māna Deva appears to be in power from 464-503 A. D. After a very short reign of Mahî-deva and Vijayavatî, king Vasanta-deva and his sister Vijayasundarî, who were the offsprings of Kṣemasundarî and Māna Deva, appear to have succeeded to the throne of Nepal.

Vasanta-deva

Vāmana-deva*

Rāma-deva

With the backing of the lunar dynasty of Gomîs, Bhāravi—the son of Vijayavatî and Mahî-deva, appears to have returned to power as Māna-deva II in 550 A. D. In this line of Mahî-deva and Vijayavatî king Gaṇa-deva appears to have ruled from 560 to 567 A. D. with Bhaumagupta as “Svāmivārta” (Prime-minister). The lunar dynasty of Gomîs yield the following names of illustrious religious leaders and administrators of Ābhîra origin :

Paramābhimānî Gomî

Mānagupta Gomî-Anuparamagupta Gomî

Bhaumagupta Gomî

Aṃśuvarmān (He drop the cognomen Gomî)

Vibhuvarmān

Jiṣṇugupta

Viṣṇugupta

Other names found in the early Licchavi Inscriptions are Kinnaravarmān, (who was the father of Guṇavatî), Naravarmān, Jayavarmān and the like who claimed to be the relatives of the Licchavis. Among the traders

and transport organisers we find such names as Ratnasañgha, Prabhusañgha Bhruvasañgha and Gunamitra who, judging from the size, nature and contents of their monuments and contributions, seem to be as important people as the Licchavis and the Gomîs. Devapāla, Dharmapāla, Balavala, Mahāvāla, Priyapāla and others are the names of the celebrated tribes of the Śākyas who claimed to belong, like the ruling tribes of the Licchavis, to the solar race. Unlike the Indian Inscriptions which regard Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Māndhatā to be universal monarchs, the Nepalese Inscriptions mention Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati, Uśanasa, Parāśara, Dvaipāyana and Vaiśampāyana as the Kauśikan patriarchs, and such Brāhmins as Viprasena, Dhruvasena, Vṛddhisena and Vedabhaṭṭa as their followers who are allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices along the developing line of “Kāraṇapūjā”. Unlike the Gupta Inscriptions which waver in their faith from the cults of the holy Bhāgavata to Paśupati and Avalokiteśvara, the Inscriptions of king Māna Deva show his understanding of Bhāgavata-dharma and Pañca-śīla (five disciplines) namely, Śīla (morality), tyāga (renunciation), Dama (fidelity). Upavāsa (observances of fastings) and Ekānta (solitude) with the purest of motives when he ventures on his new religious scheme of Bhairavi-cakra. When there is a deviation from the historic development during the reign of kings Vasanta-deva, Vaiśampāyana and Dhruvasañgha revolt against the Brāhmaṇic revival and bring Vedic sacrifices to conform to the rules of the esoteric worship of “Kāraṇapūjā” with the Five Ms as the five bases of psychic power. The supreme attainment with the transition to Bhairavi-cakra is no longer a matter of disquisition of the Revelations of the Vedas or of the superknowledges of Prajñā (gnosis) but the practical and universal development of our physical and mental vigour by the proper use of Māmsa (meat), Madya (hot drinks), Maithun (matchings), Mudrā (physical attitudes or exercises) and Mantra (breathing spells). It is remarkable that the Dāmodar copper-plate Inscription of Budhagupta introduces the ceremony of “Madhuparka” by providing cow’s milk, animal offering, oblation of rice boiled with honey, water and cow’s urine as the five sacraments (Pañca-gavya) though the forms of worship seem to be the same on the surface. Different inscriptions of different Indian kings give different assessment of the five sacraments. The same is true of the assessment of the Five Deadly Sins in the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal

and those of the Indian kings. A comparative study of these inscriptions yield positive results as to the religious views held by the kings of Asia when the Ābhīras and Huṇas emerged as factors in the history of mankind.¹³⁷

We have extensively quoted Hsüan-tsang's accounts in our note 16 where he mentions Aṃśuvarmān of Nepal as well as the Indian kings Sakrāditya, Budhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, and Vajra as some of the patrons of the Buddhistic University of Nālanda. The contemporary inscriptions of Nepal do not mention the Empire of the Guptas while such names as Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Kramalīlaḥ, Khuḍḍasvāmi, Kumārāmātya Priyajīvah and the like give indications that Nepal had become a bridge between Kashmir and Khotan, Central as well as the Peninsular India. But a Manuscript known as Mañjuśhree-mūlakalpa in our library gives the names of the Gupta kings of Magadha as Vālākhyā, Vālāditya, Kumāra and Ukārākhyā in chronological order and describes their caste as Vaiśyas (traders). Professor Raychaudhari relies on the Life of Hsüan-tsang which suggests that Budhagupta was succeeded by Tathāgata-gupta and Vālāditya. According to the Buddhist tradition, the Huṇa king Mihirakula invaded king Vālāditya's kingdom, took the Gupta king prisoner and set him free at a ransom. There are a number of Inscriptions of Kumāra-gupta Budhagupta, Vainya-gupta and Bhānu-gupta which have been widely discussed and variously interpreted and dated by Indian nationalist historians. But the mention of Dhanyaviṣṇu in the Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta dated Gupta year 165 (Fleet, Corp. Ins. Ind., III, p. 89 line 8) show that he was a contemporary of Huṇa king Toramāṇa. For, the Inscription of Toramāṇa and Dhanyaviṣṇu dedicated to the worship of Man-boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu in Udayagiri prove conclusively that Central India was conquered by the Huṇas, though Harṣacarita (Life of Harṣa) suggests that the Guptas regained power in East Mālwā after the short rule of the Huṇas and Yaśodharman.

At this period, the various Inscriptions of North-Bihar and Bengal mention such names as Bandhu-mitra and Vasumitra as the heads of the mercantile corporation of transport as in the earlier Inscriptions of Nepal. It is remarkable that such names as Bibhu-pāla and Dhṛti-pāla are mentioned as Sreṣṭhins (artisans) while Vipra-pāla, Sām̐ba-pāla and Skanda-

pāla are mentioned as the Kāyasthas (scribes). We have already pointed out how the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal associate the cognomen Pālā with the names of the Sākyas. Similarly, Vara-datta and Matī-datta are mentioned as Kulikas. The mention of donation of land to such-gods as Kokāmukhasvāmi and Śvetavarāhasvāmi over the Himālayan heights indicate that the cult of the Man-boar at the confluence of the river Kokā and Kauśikī along the modern barrage of Vārāhakṣetra in the district of Morang, seem to be getting popular in the countries of the Gupta kings. Jitasena and Śāntideva are described as the Professor of Sākyabhikṣu of Mahāyānic sect, and there is mention of the Mahāyānika-vaivarttika-bhikṣusangha who worshipped Avalokiteśvara. Most unfortunately these Buddhistic teachers and schools had, by the jugglery of two dishonest words, changed the very content and context of the Buddhistic formulary of consecrating voluntary gift of "Deyadharmoyan" implying in Nepalese inscriptions, the idea of disinterested charity, into "Dharma-dāya" or "Dharma-deya" so that the gift made according to the Buddhistic laws of donation was made obligatory to the followers of Buddhistic "dharma" as Bihar and Bengal interpreted the term at the time. Equally Vedavyāsa—the son of Parāśara, is made into an incarnation of Viṣṇu and the dictum of the Brāhmannic Dharmaśāstras used most indiscriminately and selfishly to secure the proprietary rights of the priestly order. It would be useful at this stage to make a comparative study of the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal and of North-Bihar and Bengal which will speak for *themselves*. It is remarkable that both the Buddhistic and Brāhmannic dictum of donation are used with great reservations and circumspection in the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal. We are quoting the relevant inscriptions in our corresponding note as they have not been published in the text of the Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters by Raniero Gnoli.¹³⁸

More important than the political history of India at this confused periods of Hunnic conquests is the random mention of the names of the religious teachers of the University of Nālandā by Hsüan-tsang which seems to give the Indian religious history a universal character. Apart from the names of gods and religious teachers mentioned in the Inscriptions of the Gupta kings, the mention of such scholars as Dharma-pāla, Chandra-pāla,

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Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Prabhā-mitra, Jina-mitra, Jñāna-chandra and Śīla-bhadra in connection with the University of Nālandā give us a true picture of the religious situation at the period. Śīla-bhadra was the abbot of the University in the direct line of trānsmission from the sages Asanga and Vasubandhu when Hsûan-tsang visited it. We cannot confuse this Śīla-bhadra with Śīla-varmān who was responsible for writing an account of the spread of Buddhism in Tibet during the reign of king Sroṅsāṅgāmpo. As regards the Buddhas (Buddhist scholars) who rendered services to the University of Nālandā, we have lately discovered a Licchavi Inscription dedicated to the memory of Dharma-pāla by his concubine Mṛginî in the heart of Lalitpur which we are quoting for the enlightenment of our readers to speak for itself. According to our Licchavi Inscription he was of Śākya origin and, judging from the records of China, he appears to have died in the 5th century.¹³⁹

We have already stated elsewhere how Guṇamati's works were translated into Chinese way back in 400 A. D. and how Sthiramati was his contemporary. Evidently, Hsûan-tsang appears to have learnt the names of these Buddhist savants from the records of Fa-schien and quoted their names in association of Nālandā. Judging from his distortion of history in his accounts of Magadha (see note 16), Hsûan-tsang does not appear to know that the University of Nālandā had not come into existence when Fa-schien visited the locality. As regards Chandra-pāla, Jñāna-candra, Prabhāmitra and Jina-mitra, the last named was the author of a valuable compendium of the Vinaya of Sarvāsti-vādins which is contained in I-ching's translations. I-ching mentions Jñāna-candra as "one of the famous brethren of West India attached to the Tiladha monastery. Nothing seems to be known about Chandra-pāla and Prabhāmitra.

The development of the cult of Avalokiteśvara with the glancing look of compassion :

As regards the images of Avalokiteśvara and other Buddhistic deities described by Hsûan-tsang in his account of Bodhgaya and some of the monasteries of Nālandā, they appear to be entirely new and not consecrated by a long usage as in the case of the images consecrated by our Inscriptions quoted in Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII and accompanied by the corresponding notes 41, 69, 95 and 120. Since the publication of a few of

the Buddhistic Inscriptions by R. Gnoli in his 'Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters,' we are also bringing out a number of sculptures of Śiva-vairocana, Buddha-vairocana, Mañju-śhree and Vala-vala or Mahā-vala traced with Licchavi characters which give us a purview of the lost horizon of religion. The starting point of all these inscriptions are the Seven historical Buddhas known as the Tathāgatas where Śākyamuni is described as the saint of saints. It is remarkable that the atheistical Saugatas follow as a practical sequel to the philosophical speculations of the Tathāgata. Then we find the Buddha Messia to come (Anāgata-buddha) in his attitude of describing the future with a step. With the impact of the astropsychic scheme of Kāla-cakra, Mañjuśhree-dharma appears to have emerged which had its influence of China and of the Hunas. Like the Mañchus in a different historical setting, Munzuk the father of Hunnic king Attilā—appears to have derived his name from Mañjuśhrêe. The icons of sun-like Vairocana and Amitābha appear in our religious scheme of Sukhāvati-vyūha (the pure and happy fortress) breaking the darkness of "Bhava" (cosmos) with his great gnosis (Mahāprajñā). With the introduction of the system of Bhairavi-cakra, Mahāsthāma emerges as the Bodhisattva of power to destroy all our fears on this side of our grave. What is most interesting in our Licchavi Inscriptions is the fact that the Buddhistic and Brāhmannic gods appear to be welded into a harmonious whole of Kāraṇapūjā. All these inscriptions provide us a clue as to how and in what historical sequence the Śaivite, Vedic and Buddhistic pantheons developed and grew from the concept of Great Mother Goddess, Paśupati and Iśvaradeva and converged to a symbiosis in the scheme of Kāraṇapūjā with the introduction of the new religious scheme of Bairavi-cakra.

We can also study the historical development of the early stūpas and stone-caityas where, for examples, the stone-caitya of Svayambhunātha shows the impact of the concept of Sambuddha on the atheistical Saugatas. If the inscriptions on the four cardinal compass corners of the stone-caitya of Tyāgal-tola (69) write about the development of the laws of Mañju-śhree (Mañjuśhree-dharma), Mahāsthāma, Tathāgatas and Śākyamuni, then equally a stone-caitya in the quadrangle of Oṃṇ-vahāl in the city of Lalitpur gives us the genesis of the cult of the five Dhyāni (Celestial) Buddhas, which, contrary to the so far accepted convention, has Amitābha, Ratnasambhava,

Akṣyobya and Amôghasiddha on the western, southern, eastern and northern cardinal compass corners respectively. The reigning Buddha on all the four cardinal compass corners, however, is a Buddha in the introspective attitude of Bodhi-jñāna-mudrā (vulgo- : Bodhinga-mudrā) or in other words, Dharma-cakra-mudrā describing the Eight-spoked-wheel of Law with eight of his fingers. It is remarkable that all the Śaivite, Brāhmannic or Buddhistic Inscriptions open up with the mystical syllable "OMN" which gathers in its net of "Kāraṇapûjā" the differing doctrines of varying ages. Then, too, where are a large number of basreliefs and image of Śākyamuni flanked by Padmapānis (Lotus-holders) in Kolî-caps (See Plate XXI) as the lieutenants of Amitābha or as an independent entity who led the van of the Celestial Buddhas or the newly emerging pantheons of Bhairavi-cakra.

Unlike the Seven historical Buddhas or the Buddhas of self-perfection and the Buddha Messias who multiply like "the sands on the sea-shore," images of Avalokiteśvaras traced with Licchavi-scripts of different periods appear in all our important temples and monasteries during the fifth century. It is remarkable that a beautiful image of Avalokiteśa dedicated by Dharmajīva in the 180th year of King Manā Deva's Era bears ample testimony to this undeniable fact. This interesting image of Avalokiteśvara with the glancing look of compassion wears "Yajnopavita" (sacred thread worn by the twice-born initiates of the Brāhmannic caste-system), Vedic ornaments and Dhotīs instead of the Buddhistic robes of the earlier Buddha images. Like Viṣṇu he wears a three-petalled crown bearing a miniature icon of Amitābha in his attitude of serene meditation (śānta-jñāna-mudrā) at the centre. The traditional Great Mother Goddess Śhree and the consecrated image of Vasumatī (Earth-goddess) submit in supplication over lotus pedestals on the two flanks of this Avalokiteśvara as Dispassions. The supplicating Śhree sends up a Lotus stem to his right hand which flowers into an adamant jewel over his outstretched palm, while he holds the stems of lotus sent up by Vasumatī which flowers into full blossom over his left shoulder. This type of basrelief of Avalokiteśvara during the early period of the Licchavis seems to be calculated to explain the true significance of the six-syllabled mystical spell of "Omṇ maṇi padmè hām" (I am in the Jewel and the Lotus), of which many corrupt versions and still

more incorrect interpretations are to be found among the Indian, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Japanese sources. In short, this six-syllabled mystical spell with its symbol of the Jewel and the Lotus represents the gist of all the voluminous texts of the Prajñāpāramitās (Perfection of wisdom or full understanding at its summit) as a result of the vast and various spiritual experiences of the Śaivite Yogins, Vedic Patriarchs and the four categories of Buddhas. King Māna-deva I appears to have given his royal recognition to this category of Avalokiteśa as the fact is verified by Dharma jīva's inscription, so that the Brāhmins also accepted him as the sixth Incarnation of Viṣṇu after the Fish, Tortoise, Man-boar, Man-lion and the Midget in *Three Steps* 140. (see also Plate XI).

The origin and the development of the cult of Avalokiteśvar with the fifth century seems to be very much more interesting than the rise and fall of empires. The impact of this cult is now perceptible in the White Lotus Sūtra Manuscripts of Eastern Turkestan and in the inscriptions of the Gupta kings who now waver in their faith between Avalokiteśvara and Viṣṇu. As a result of the growing influence of this sex-affirming cult of Avalokiteśvara, the Gupta inscriptions seem to be inclined to draw a line of distinction between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna (the paths of the Lesser or Greater Vehicle of Buddhism). Unaware of the development of the cult of light deities in the Śaivite scheme of the Two-in-one (Dvaradhanārīśvara, Strī-śvara or Vāmadeva), the Gupta as well as the Kalāchuri and the Chālukya records describe Mahādeva, Vāmadeva and Nāgadeva as representing one and the same worship as they were being interpreted by the Sākyabhikṣus of the order of the Mahāyānikavaivarttikabhikṣu-saṅgha, who worshipped Āryāvalakiteśvara in their Vihāras. If the Ābhīras of Nepal enunciated the Revelations of the Three Vedas on the basis of the laws of holy Bhāgavata against the background of the many decadent meditational paths prescribed by the Saugatas in their Buddhānusmritis, the corresponding Indian Inscriptions and sculptures do not so much as give us an indication of the links in the chain of religious development from the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph to the Inscription of the pilaster of Harigāon. If the confessio-fides as well as the dictums of the Vedic and the Buddhistic laws in Licchavi Inscriptions are consecrated by long usages, their quotations in the inscriptions of India appear to be insipid and languid. The

composition and authorship of the Vedic and Buddhistic laws differ from inscription as a cry of despair from the down-trodden Indian peoples who were out to secure their earthly possessions by such invocations and curses in the teeth of major political upheavals in the eastern part of Central India, to which the Inscriptions of the Hunnic kings Toramāṇa, Dhanya-*viṣṇu* and Mihirakula testify.

A comparative study of Greek astronomical influences on the Manuscripts of Nepal and India :

We have already referred to the economic impact of the Roman Dinars and the Greek astronomical influences on the Inscriptions of the Indian kings. In our Manuscript library the earliest work bearing Greek influence based on the astronomical works of Paul of Alexandria (578 A. D.) and Varāhamihira is known as "Khaṇḍa-khādyam" attributed to Professor Ātya-bhaṭṭa. This work opens with an invocations to the Sun and seems to be copied in old Nevāri-script in N. S. 470 (1350 A. D.) from an earlier Licchavi manuscript attributed to Brahma-gupta Gomī. According to the Inscriptions of Nepal, the Brāhmins with the cognomen Bhaṭṭa appear as the disciples of the Brāhmannic saint Vaiśampayana *with* the Inscriptions of the period of king Vasanta-deva. The chronology of the Ābhīras shows that Brahma-gupta and Viṣṇu-gupta were the sons of Jīṣṇu-gupta who have many Licchavi Inscriptions to their credit.

Subsequent to the above manuscript we have still another work known as Bhojadeva-saṃgraha dated Saka-era 1297 (1357 A. D.) containing Bhojadeva's works on astronomy-astrology based upon the works of Varāhamihira. It is remarkable that the compiler Dāmodara, though he claims to have consulted the works of Yogiśvara, bases himself completely on the works of Varāhamihira in all essentials. We have dealt in Chapter XI about the nature of the works of Yogiśvara and Padmanābha and the entire gamut of the Brāhmannic patriarchs they claimed to have consulted. It is interesting to note that another elementary treatise on astronomy with a few chapters on astrology attributed to the same author (Dāmodara No. 1167) seems to be copied in N. S. 850 corresponding to a date as late as 1710 A. D. Contrary to the contents of Bhojadeva-Saṃgraha this work makes an attempt to reconcile astronomy with the cheap legends of the Brāhmannic Purāṇas. Quoting from the Brāhmannic astronomer

Garga, the work tries to bypass the Nirvāṇa and Śaka millennias by saying abruptly that the Era of the legendary king Yudhiṣṭhira will continue for 3,044 years; then the era of Vikramāditya will follow for 135 years. Then will commence the era of the Śakas which will continue for 1830 years. After this king Nāgārjuna will appear on the scene, who will put an end to the reign of the Mlecchas (people beyond the pale of the Brāhmannic religion and culture) and lay the foundation of an era which will continue for four hundred thousand years. Then will Dharmarāja start an era which will continue for 10,000 years. Finally when the world will be peopled by the Buddhists and the Mlecchas once again, the last incarnation of Viṣṇu, as Kalki the killer, will appear on the scene to destroy them in a matter of 81 days. Thus we see that the era of the Śakas is identified with the era of the Mlecchas and of the Buddhists vis-a-vis the so-called era of Vikramāditya which does not seem to have any historical foundation. The introduction of the four "Yugas" (cycles of time) with their accounts of the stunning and brutal incarnations of Viṣṇu in terms of aeons is calculated to defeat the practical millennias envisaged by the Nirvāṇa, Śaka and Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka eras with the object of achieving an all-round development for the progressive future for mankind.

The peculiarity of these Brāhmannic works consists in their careful selection of all matters relating to "Ariṣṭa" (evil influences of the planets) from the original "Hoḍāśāstra" (the principles and practices of astrology learnt from the Greeks) with a view to impose these ideas upon the masses of Indian peoples and exploit the weaknesses of human nature. A striking example of such an astrological Manuscript in our library is known as "Ariṣṭavanitavyākhyā" in Nevāri characters dated N. S. 800 (=1680 A. D. and numbered 1306). It is a commentary on the astrological work entitled "Ariṣṭavanita" by the Indian author known as Navanitarattana-kavi who seems to have based himself upon the astrological works of the Greeks. This commentary, which opens with an invocation to the Vighnas (obstacles to human life as a result of the evil influences exercised by the stars), consists of six chapters dealing with ordinary evil influences, evil influences concerning mother, evil influences concerning father, evil influences concerning everything, evil influences concerning the birth of a son and religious measures calculated to counteract such evil influences. It is interest-

ing to note that the commentator Śrīdhara is quoted, at least, twice by Professor Bhāskarācārya in his *Vijagaṇita* (Algebra).

Marriage relations between the Licchavi, kings of Nepal and the dynasty of Adityasena :

After many changes in the tides of the political fortune, the later Licchavi kings of Nepal and the Maukhāris, according to the Inscription of Jayadeva already quoted (Gnoli LXXXI pp 115-119) and Apsar Inscription of Ādityasena, seem to be bound in bonds of marriage. The Harāha Inscription of the Maukhāri king Isāna-varmma and his brother Bhoga-varmma were the contemporaries of king Kumāragupta. We can safely quote the name of Viṣṇu-gupta from our chronology of the Abhīras, who may provide a clue to the missing link in the chain of Maukhāri dynasty. Judging from his long absences from Nepal on his missions to China in 643 A. D., Viṣṇu-gupta was one of the most enterprising men during the first half of the seventh century. From the period of King Māna Deva I to Amsuvarmma, the religious and official protocol of Nepal was much the more pretentious than the Gupta protocol as the former was sanctioned by the long usages of the Śākyas, the Śakas and the Licchavis in their scheme of the Nirvāṇa, Śaka and Māna Deva Eras. The gulf seems to be narrowing down, though the dates of the Vikramāditya, Yudhiṣṭhira, Nanda or Maurya Eras may have to be revised as they never existed except in very elementary treatises on astronomy of a very late period.

We also notice a large-scale borrowing of the judicial customs and expressions from the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal. But while the Licchavi inscriptions open with the haloed greetings of "Om Svasti" as a practical sequel to the tradition of "Saddharma" (true law), the Gupta inscriptions in their dilemma seem to open with the greeting of "Svasti." We have briefly discussed the implications of the impact of the Brāhmannic laws on the Licchavi Inscriptions in our note 46 and in Chapter XII. The language used in our Licchavi inscriptions is chaste Sanskrit influenced largely by the Prākritic language of the Buddhistic Himālayas, and the script is an archaic form of Brāhmī of the northern class which is said to be much older than the script used in the corresponding Inscriptions of India. The character of the Gupta kings is addressed through the Grāmika (Government officer

in charge of the village) to the Mahattara who appears to be the headman of the village. Unlike the Nepalese counterpart of the village Jury composed of five elected elders who supervised the works of the villagers all by themselves, it was the duty of the Mahattara to regulate the sale of the commodities according to the prevailing custom of the village, determine the area of rent-free land (samudyavāsa) and non-transferable property (Aprada) measured by rods 9×8 cubits in length (Pratyadekṣaṣṭaka navaka nalābhyāmaya biccha) and realise the dues in terms of Dināra (Roman currency) by the watchman (Sthānapāla) under the eye of the village officer (Grāmika) who represented the king in the local administration. Each chart of the Indian kings of the period closes with the abject formulary as to land-grant attributed indiscriminately to Manu, Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana) or Dharma-śāstra (laws of Brāhmannic scriptures) purporting that "the person who confiscates or abets confiscation of lands given by self or other peoples is condemned to the sufferings in hell for a term of sixty-six-thousand years along with his forefathers, where as the donor is assured the corresponding years of happiness in heaven. Unlike the circumspect formulary of king Vasanta-deva respecting the rights of possession, the baseless chronology of king Sagara is taken for granted and the legendary stories of his gifts are quoted as historical examples to impose upon the credulity of the invaders. The insecurity and uncertainty of the period seems to be very well reflected in these abject formularies which base themselves on the legendary dynasty of Manu as a universal Emperor and on the Revelations of the Vedas and the Smṛtis to protect the priestly order of the Brāhmins and their possessions through threat and fear.

A comparative study of the official protocol of the Licchavis and the Guptas :

The official protocol of the Licchavis shows the expression of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka irrespective of whether the king or his fellow kings concerned were Śaivites, Buddhists or Vaishṇavites. Kings Vasurāja or Ābhīra Paramābhimani or Kashmiri Kramalīla or the South-Indian Khuddasvāmi or Khotanese Kmārāmātya Priya-Jīva or Dharma-Jīva seem to be knitted together in the political scheme of brother-kings as brother kings. There is no doubt, therefore, that the Huṇa-kings Toramāna and Mihirakula belonged to the same fraternal bond envisaged by their faith in Paśupati and

Śthānu-Śiva. If the Hunnic king Manjuk (Munzuk=father of Attila) believed in Mañjushree-dharma allied with the concept of Saddharma (true law), the later Hunnic invaders of India appear to be no exception to the early faith in the new scheme of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas with the inception of the new system of Bhairavi-cakra by king Māna Deva in the wake of the astro-psychic system of Kāla-cakra. The impact of the change can be seen in the worship of Kāraṇa-pūjā with the Five Ms. in marriage customs and in the laws of adoption of babies and persons from different families. As for examples, such expressions as "Tadpādaparigṛhita" indicates acceptance of an official position and "Anudhyāta" indicates favoured by appointment. The terms "Parigṛha" and "Anugṛha" have specific legal significance in the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal, as the former implies the admission of a person into a family from a different family by adoption, while the latter implies appointment to the official position by regular rules of dynastic succession. Such expressions as "Mahādevapādānadhyaṭo" in the religious sense of devotion to (meditating on or favoured by) Śiva appearing in the inscriptions of the Indian kings,—do not occur in the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal. If king Vainyagupta tries to enhance his prestige by addressing some of his feudatories of Bihar and Bengal as "Mahārāja" and degrading them as his serfs to serve his feet (Pādādāsa or Upacārika), the "Prasasti" (Royal protocol) of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas of Nepal regard the fraternal kings, officers, Pañcas and the peoples with great respect. Unlike the Indian kings who waver in their faith between Mahādeva (god of gods Śiva) and Avalokiteśvara despite their quotations from the scriptures of Bhāgavata-dharma propagated by Manu and Dvaipāyana, such titles as "Māheśvara" and "Paramamāheśvara" assumed by the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas seem to be derived from the tradition of the Śāka kings who, in their turn, borrowed the title from the ancient Śākyan worship of Iśvaradeva and Śākyavardhana. It appears to me that the term "Mañju" held a strange fascination for the Hunnic king Mañjuk (Munzuk—father of Attila) and later for the Mongolian dynasty of Mañchus, who extended their power over the world in the name of Mañju-shree. The faith of the Hunnic kings Toramāṇa-sāhi Dhanavaiṣṇu and Mihirakula in Paśupati, Sthānu-Śiva and Man-boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu show that they believed in the influence of the cult of Light Deities as the factors for transformation of

the new doctrines of Saṃ-buddha and Bhāgavata dharma within the framework of the old order of the Great Mother Goddess and the Shepherd god Paśupati. In a word the doctrines of Mañju-śrêe and Sthāṇu-Śiva follow as a practical sequel to the progressive concept of Saddharma (true law or doctrine) as opposed to the "Sanātana-dharma" (irrevocability of the Vedic laws) propagated by the Brāhmins. In the scheme of "Saddharma" progress is the law of life and man's self is not yet man; while "Sanātana-dharma" accepts Vedic Revelations and Smṛtis as absolute. The inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman (Gnoli : XXXV and XXXVI pp 48-51) are cases in point, in which the Gods, Goddesses, Buddhistic Vihāras, officers, men and professions are organised under a very sound warrant of precedence and where Śhrêe-devî (the great Mother Goddess) and Paśupati (the shepherd god of Moheñjodāro) lead the procession. It is remarkable that Aṃśuvarman was a contemporary of Sroṃsāngāmpo and Mihirakula who professed the same faith as he did in king Māna-Deva's scheme of Bhairavī-cakra. Judging from the Tibetan, Chinese and Indian records Aṃśuvarman seems to be known and respected universally.

On the whole the Licchavi monuments, sculptures and Inscriptions, as we have illustrated and quoted them, are signposts to guide us in the lost horizon of Asia from the fourth to the sixth centuries. More because, our Inscriptions throw adequate light on the early life and faith of the Ābhīras and Huṇas who played their role in the history of the world as the allies of the peoples whose rulers they invaded, and finally dissolved among the common peoples without founding their dynasties. It is the most unique feature in the history of mankind that all these nomadic tribes of Central Asia and the Himālayas had believed in the faith which was blazoned by the primitive concept of Mother-goddess and Shepherd-god of the Indus-valley in transformation after the impact of the Vedic, Buddhistic and other thoughts in the meeting ground of Central Asia, where the East and West confronted for a military show-down and finally submitted to the dawn of better hopes for mankind with the inception of the Nirvāṇa and Śaka millennias successively. After the impact of the cult of Bhṛkuṭī Haritārā on the court of king Sroṃsāngāmpo, there are evidences in the Tibetan Inscriptions which conclusively prove that they followed the Nepalese protocol of Aṃśuvarman, where Nepalese teachers held very important

positions in the warrant of precedence of Tibetan hierarchy. In this sweeping history we have examined the stages through which Śaivism, vedic Brāhmannism and Buddhism, in contact with the Semitic and early European philosophy; attained its growth among the peoples of Central Asiatic countries before reentering India through the backdoor and also before gaining acceptance by the Chinese peoples. We have also depicted the role played by Yakṣa Sākyavardhana and Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph upon the symbol of the Eight-spoked-wheel of Law during the period of its widest acceptance in its new astro-psychic scheme of Kāla-cakra. The Śaka kings proclaimed the new concept as "Saddharma" (true law) with flames rising from their shoulders, and founded the Śaka era, in lieu of the Nirvāṇa era, as a milestone in man's spiritual attainments. Soon after that peak, orthodox sectarians emerged to work their havocs and sap the intellectual and literary vitality envisaged by the Śaka Millennia. When the inward dynamism declined, notwithstanding the outward symbols of "Saddharma," The Kuṣhāṇas held the banner aloft, convened the Fourth-Buddhist-Synod and founded Kanishka's Era in 78 A. D. which the Licchavi kings of Nepal appear to have accepted and developed with the aid of the Ābhīras, Kashmiri, Tibetan and Khoṭāni peoples. In the foregoing we have examined the impact of the doctrines of Dvaipāyana on the Licchavis, Ābhīras and Gupta kings of India, which appear to have built a bridge of marriage relations between the Licchavis, Guptas and Moukhāris. But more durable than marriage relations are the mystical couplings of the gods and goddesses in the new scheme of Bhairavi-cakra and Kāraṇa-pūjā which are intended to remind the initiates of contending creeds, that the possibility of penetrating the veil of death and achieving the ultimate best in human affairs, consisted in the recovery of the Two-in-One within the framework of the concept of Sthāṇu-Śiva. We have pointed out how this concept of mystical couplings was getting universal acceptance at this period.

The Licchavi Inscriptions and sculptures from the fourth to the sixth centuries are positive that the cults of the Tathāgatas, Śākyamuni, Saugatas or Pratyeka Buddhas (Buddha who sought self-perfection for themselves), Anāgata-Buddhas (the walking Buddhas or the Buddha Messias to come for deliverance of mankind) or the Celestial Buddhas like

Mañju-śrêê, Mahāsthāma or the five Celestial Buddhas led either by Śākyamuni or Amitābha in their respective attitudes of Dharma-cakra-mudrā (described by the interlocking of the eight fingers to signify the concept of Eight-spoked wheel of Law) or of serene meditation follow a scheme and a limit. Like the six Incarnations of Viṣṇu, all these images and basreliefs of the historical and Celestial Buddhas represent mystical visions or liturgical treatises traced, in some cases with their prayers which speak for themselves. If the basrelief of Vāmana (see Chapter V) represents a revolt against Vedic Revelations Avalokiteśvara represents the syncretism of Buddhism and Brāhmannism as the sixth Incarnation of Viṣṇu in Māna Deva's scheme of Bhairavai-cakra. What is most remarkable is the fact that the five Celestial Buddhas are identifiable at the centre of the Crowns of the large number of bas-reliefs of Avalokiteśvara of the fifth century, some of whose pedestals are traced with Licchavi scripts. Unlike in China we do not find in these images of Avalokiteśvara the episode of the shadow of the Buddha and the visualisation of the Bodhi-sattva Sadāprarudita nor do they represent the concept of Māyā (Illusion) taught by the Śākya-bhikṣu-saṅgha in order to appeal to the taste of the Gupta kings of India. The vast number of basreliefs of Avalokiteśvara in Nepal show that they are created to provide a link in the long chain of religious development with the inception of Bhairavi-Cakra. The bas-reliefs of Vāmana and Avalokiteśvara are now brought nearer to the concept of the primeval androgyne in the form of "Dvardhanārīśvara" who represents the One in the indivisible union of two contradictory and yet complimentary principles, from whose united action the "White Lotus of True Law" flowers, fades and also concretises in the shape of an adamant Jewel.¹⁴¹

The Inscription of Buddhajīva inscribed at the base of his Avalokiteśvara provides a meeting ground between the "Prājñika" (the School which believed in the gnosis of the Perfection of wisdom) and "Kārmika" (the School which believed in the personal worship of Kāraṇapūjā) Schools who contended respectively that the true Dharma (Law) was a sheer energy of nature in the sense of Diva-nature, and that the White Lotus of the True Law could concretise in the shape of an adamant jewel as the result of sheer Human Perception through the pursuit of the cult of the Five MS.

Unlike the Inscription of Vainyagupta who associates Vedic Smṛtis as the basis of the worship of Avalokiteśvara, both the Prājñika and Kārmika Schools of the Himālayan and trans-Himālayan countries reject Vedic Revelations as the sources of human laws except as system of ethics. We do not find here the high level of abstraction which characterised the contemporary Chinese concentrations on the icons of Amitābha as the result of their subtle dialectical philosophy and their traditional concrete and empiric ways of thinking. If the concept of Amitābha or Amitāyus had become more and more Sinicized and abstract as much as to put the concepts of Buddhānusmṛtis beyond the reach of the common peoples in China, then equally the anti-social and anti-family concepts of early Buddhism seems to be modified by the impact of Bhāgavata-dharma (the laws of holy Bhāgavata) in Gupta India. At every step the Indian and the Chinese thinkers, in adjusting the concept of Avalokiteśvara to their own special religious environments, had deviated from the practical path prescribed by the basic text of Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (the white lotus-sūtra of the true doctrine), so that a new fire and drive was needed to render the true doctrine dynamic in the scheme of Māna-Deva-Millennia and bridge the chasm that was opening to swallow up the trend of the true Doctrine in the scale of time. It appears to me that Prativa Dharmajīvaḥ of our Inscription seems to be a successor of Kumārāmātya Priyajīvaḥ, Sāgarajīvaḥ and the celebrated Kuchean teachers Buddhajīvaḥ and Kumārajīva who played such a great role in the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism in China. More because, the mention of Avalokiteśvara outside of Nepal in the fifth century, occurs, for the first time, in the Manuscripts of Eastern Turkestan under a wrong spelling which was wrongly translated and interpreted by the Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese sources till Hsüan-tsang corrected the name along the Licchavi line.¹⁴²

In the succeeding chapters we will describe the general religious atmosphere of Nepal with reference to the relevant Licchavi Inscriptions, sculptures and monuments to show how the conflicts in the minds of the Śāivite, Vedic and Buddhist patriarchs ushered in the transition to Bhairavi-cakra.

CHAPTER XIV

The Inscriptions of Anuparama-gupta Gomî over the pilaster of Harigāon is a landmark of Bhāgavatadharmma (Laws concerning the worship of the holy Vāsudeva) against the background of the laws of Saugatas (atheistical Buddhists) in the fifth century A. D.

We have pointed out in Chapter VII and the corresponding note *94 how the earliest record of the worship of the holy Vāsudeva after the concept of the Almighty Viṣṇu in Three Vedic Steps, occurs in the Benagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of the Indo-Greek Ambassador Heliodoros in what is to-day the Gwalior state of Central India. We have also discussed how the Kauśika were active in propagating the cult of holy Vāsudeva in the district of Rājputāna during the reign of king Sarvatāta and how the descendents of Gārgî seem to be combating the doctrine by putting up identical pillars in favour of Buddhism. It was the Maukhāris of the Punjab who appear to have associated the worship with the Śaka Era consequent upon the confederation of Mālava tribes beginning from 57 B. C. In this context we have also tried to explain the mysteries of the overstrikes of the coins known as "Soter megas" by reference to the expressions occurring in the Inscriptions of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas. This brings us to a very interesting stage in the developing concept of "Dharmma" (Law), as it was being interpreted by the followers of the Vedic and the Buddhist Patriarchs during the fifth century A. D.

Against the above historical background, the chronological tables of the Licchavis, the Abhîras and their fraternal kings, such as we have worked out in Chapter XIII, throw a flood of light on the religious, political and social conditions of the Himālayan and trans-Himālayan countries. It is a matter of international interest that the author of the Inscription of Harigāon is now known to be Anuparama-gupta Gomî who was of Abhîra (Avar) origin. The orthodox Kauśik Brāhmins condemned the Yavanas (Indo-Greeks and Śaka-pahlavas), Khasas and Ābhîras as outcaste. Count Gnoli has published a revised edition of our Inscription under review in his "Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters : (IX pp. 14-19). According

to Professors S. Levi and R. Gnoli "the text consists of 34 stanzas and they have identified the metres. The date of this inscription is missing, but the form of its characters reveal that it dates back to the time of Māna Deva."

It would be useful to state that the pilaster surmounted by the figure of a Vainateya (Man-bird Garuda kneeling in supplication with folded palms and his wings clasped in repose at his back) stands within the quadrangle of the temple and faces the image of Vāsudeva known popularly as Satya-Nārāyaṇa and worshipped as such to our own day. The image of Vāsudeva within the temple is worn out with age and worship and seems to be considerably older than the Inscription of Anuparama-gupta. Judging from the style of sculpture, this image of Vāsudeva may be the earliest and the nearest approach to the image before whom the Greek Ambassador Heliodoros put up his pilaster surmounted by the figure of Garuda way back between the second and first century B. C. To the south of this temple, there is another Śaivite temple of Dhārā-Māneśvara consecrated by the Inscription of Bhāravi who appears to have dedicated the water-conduit to the memory of his grand-father Māna Deva I who had set up the image of Śthānu-Siva in order to countermand the worship of Vāsudeva. Then, too, we have discovered a number of the images of Saugatas, Pratyeka-Buddhas and deities of other pantheons to bear witness to the conflicts in the minds of the Nepalese peoples in the fourth and the fifth centuries. What is of utmost interest from our human point of view is the fact that a man of the origin of Ābhīra was responsible for giving an authentic account of the conflict between the Saugatas (the so-called atheistical Buddhas who aimed at self-perfection) and the Brāhmannic patriarchs, which finally led Dvaidharmas to compile the records of Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati, Uśanasa and the like in order to create the historical basis for Bhārata. Judging from the recently discovered Inscription of King Māna Deva in a locality known as Kelatola of Kathmandu, he seems to be influenced by the "Shruti-dharma-śāstras" (Brāhmannic laws based upon the Vedic Revelations) at the outset of his career.¹⁴³ The Ābhīras were no exception to the influence of the Vedic revival. But the Brāhmannic saviours, on the basis of the Vedic Revelations, did not seem to have an easier time than the Saugatas as their succeeding Inscriptions and icons suggest with their growing spiritual maturity.

Anuparama-gupta Gomî opens with a ruthless attack upon the arduous paths prescribed in the Buddhānusmṛitis by the selfish Saugatas for their self-perfection to the neglect of the deliverance of masses of mankind. Without naming the fallen idols of the Saugatas, the author denounces them as deeply engrossed in heresies, as false thinkers and wrong logicians and opposed to the injunctions of the Three Vedas. Unlike the myths surrounding these very Brāhmannic heroes in India, Anuparama-gupta considers that the Kauśikan Patriarchs Maṇu, Yama, Bṛhaspati, Uśanasa and his like are the expounders of the Smṛti-works based upon the Three Vedas. We have adequately discussed in Chapters XI, XII and XIII the nature of the Vedic Revelations and how the Brāhmannic revivalists surrounded the Patriarchs with Divine myths by their jugglery of expressions in order to justify the Smṛti-laws (Recollection laws) which had no historical examples to serve as their basis. After the 34th stanza, we find a single-line colophon which designates the entire Inscription as a "Stotra" (hymn) dedicated by Anuparama to Dvaipāyana who had indited Bhārata out of the murks of the contending creeds in order to guide the paths of the faithfuls of the Three Vedas. Unaware of the chronology of the Ābhîras (see Chapter XIII), Professor Levi appears to have interpreted the name "Anuparama" to mean "without a stop", but the number of Inscriptions to the credit of the Gomîns and particularly, the nature and content of the Inscription of Anuparama's wife Ābhîrî at the base of a Śiva-liṅga (phallus of Śiva) known as Anuparamēśvara (Gnoli : XVI p. 23) to the memory of her husband on his death, — tend to show that the cult of Paśupati and Great Mother Goddess had become a bridge of understanding between the Vedic Brāhmins and the atheistical Buddhas. We now see the reason why the Licchavi kings of Nepal had assumed to themselves the title of Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka calculated to bind the Ābhîras, Huṇas and Kauśiks in bonds of a common faith. It is remarkable that the Buddhistic Stone Caityas of this period tend to assume the shape of the symbolical phallus of Śiva with his image on the northern cardinal compass corners in some cases. I have not seen this phase of development in any country I have travelled in my brief career save Nepal.

Who was this Dvaipāyana ?

We have adequately discussed the chronology of the Vedic and the Buddhistic patriarchs as they occur in the Skandhaka and Smṛti Manuscripts.

According to the Brāhmannic epic of Mahābhārata, Dvaipāyana and Vaiśampāyana are some of the names given to the authors of the work. As he spent his life in a "Dvīpa" (island) the faithfuls of the creed called him "Dvaipāyana" or a man who was born and brought up in an island. We have already pointed out with reference to the distribution of the ashes of Śākyamuni, that the Brāhmins from Veṭhadvīpo had arrived at the scene of the Great Passing for their share of the Great Pilgrim's mortal relics. We have also explained how the term Veṭhadvīpo applies to a country or countries where the Vedic God Viṣṇu was worshipped. During the Buddhistic period, Videha and Dhankuṭā situated over the hilly and forested slopes of the Himālayan foot-hills by the banks of river Kauśikī seem to be the strongholds of the Vedic Brāhmins. And because they lived by the banks of river Kauśikī (Kosī or Khusī) they came to be known as Kauśiks who played their part as great intellectuals in ancient history. Seeing how "Ratna-dvīpa" (island of jewel) is applied to Nepal in the Tibetan and Chinese scriptures, the word does not necessarily apply to an island in the sense we understand the term in modern vocabulary.

Dvaipāyana was the son of Satyavatī and Parāśara. Satyavatī was the daughter of a fisherman, who survived by ferrying travellers across the Kauśikī river in her dug-out. It was while Satyavatī was ferrying him across the Kauśikī river, that Parāśara conceived a passion for the fisher-girl with the smell of fish on her. It was a love at the first glance for the sex-hungry Parāśara who is said to have helped to improve her make-up and smell and had intimacies with Satyavatī. Then the pair loved and lived on one of the islets of Kauśikī where Dvaipāyana was born. It is remarkable that Satyavatī is one of stars in the galaxy of such women as Arundhatī, Śivālī, Gārgī-lopā, Chulla-Kokā, Prabhāvatī, Māya-devī, Yasodharā and all the Yakṣīs and Kinnarīs who set examples of Motherhood and for the emancipation of women in the ancient world. According to the evidence of some of our Manuscripts, Dvaipāyana, as he grew up, moved over to the Himālayan region where he put up his hermitage amid the forests of Devadārs (Deodars trees). It was here that he compiled the legend of the Bhārata on the basis of the Three Vedas, and he came to be known as Vyāsa or Veda-vyāsa for his incisive analysis of the Vedic works. At several places in the epic of Mahābhārata, Vyāsa is known as Kṛiṣṇa Dvaipāyana where-

as the Life of Buddha contained in the Vinaya of Mûlasarvāstivādins mentions the same name in the course of a narration, where his black colour disappeared and he became Suvarṇa-Dvaipāyana in the context of his Suvarṇa-gotra (gold-race) origin. But the words Kṛṣṇa and Suvarṇa are adjectives to Dvaipāyana (an island-born) where the form can be traced to the word "Dvīpa" (an island). But the two surnames Kṛṣṇa or Suvarṇa taken as a kind of organic unit to the name Dvaipāyana, the term loses its faculty of independent inflection. Evidently, these are examples of synchronic etymologies where the subsequent authors of the said Brāhmānic and Buddhist texts were using the outstanding name of Dvaipāyana to their own advantage. Anuparama's inscription does not mention the surnames Kṛṣṇa or Suvarṇa in connection with the name of Dvaipāyana. It would not be uninteresting to note from the point of view of Sanskrit literary history that all the passages of the texts of Tantra-vārttika quoted by Bühler in his essential account of the history of the epic of Mahābhārata (Vienna 1892) the authors are designated as Vālmiki, Dvaipāyana, Vaiśampāyana and the like who were Kauśiks in their origin. The etymological explanations of the later works do not, therefore, appear to be historical, though they may be appealing to the traditional story-makers who tried to exploit the eminent name of Dvaipāyana to their own particular sectarian advantage. Judging from king Māna Deva's and Anuparama's Inscriptions, the period seems to be characterised by great intellectual activities. Roughly about sixty years after Anuparama's Inscription, king Kramalīla of Kashmir appears at the court of the Licchavi king Vasanta-deva and continues on to the reign of king Rāma-deva. Sometime after the appearance of Kramalīla, the celebrated Kashmiri poet Kumāralīla makes adequate mention of Dvaipāyana as the person responsible for the composition of the epic of Mahābhārata. ¹⁴⁴

Assessment of Anuparama's Inscription over the pilaster of Hari-gaṇ :

Except for the colophon, the entire Inscription consists of thirty-four stanzas in seventy three lines of archaic Brāhmī characters. Cout Gnolī has testified to the freedom of versification and skill with which Anuparama has used the Sanskrit metres. The entire Inscription bears the stamp of epical sublimity like Milton's Paradise Lost, and enriches the dictionary of Sanskrit language by a number new words, which are faultless

in their formation and are found nowhere else in the whole gamut of Sanskrit literature. On the whole, the composition is correct and perfect, which speaks for the intellectual capacity of the Ābhīras on the eve of their debut over the international stage of history.

Anuparama does not pay Dvaipāyana a disinterested homage. It is, as though the son, who desired the success of his father in his new venture against the dialectical hairsplittings of the Saugatas, was invoking the epical protection of the Brāhmannic prophet in favour of the Revelations of the Three Vedas to the effect of compiling the Smṛtis (Laws based upon Recollection) for the guidance of mankind. Unlike the Divine origin attributed to Suvarṇa Dvaipāyana or Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana in the Vinaya of Mūla Sarvāstivāda and Indian Inscriptions, Dvaipāyana is not here the equal of Nara, Nārāyaṇa and Sarasvatī. Like the opposite number of Buddhist Saugatas, he is purely and simply a Brāhmannic prophet in flesh and blood in the chronological order of the Vedic patriarchs known by the names of Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati, Uśanasa and the like.

It is regrettable that much of the Inscription is mutilated, but, judging from the nature of the help expected by Anuparama from Dvaipāyana, the author was trying to find a historical framework of peoples' law (Lokadharmma) in the context of the epic of Bhārata, so that he may combat the evil contents of the Buddhānusmṛtis and psychological Tantras indited by atheistical Saugatas and psychologists who opposed the Revelations of the Three Vedas. But the ultimate basis of his faith is evident from the phallic symbol of Anuparameśvara dedicated by his wife Ābhirī to the memory of her deceased husband Anuparama to the effect that the Pāsupata-yogins as well as the atheistical Saugatas had believed in the examples of Śiva-līṅgas and Caityas as the right road to universal salvation rather than the precepts of the Three Vedas. There is no doubt that the Pāsupatācāryas and Saugatas had their own historical chronicles to challenge the very basis of the Divine origin of the Vedic patriarchs, prophets and kings.

In the eyes of Anuparama, the compiler of Bhārata was not so much a Prince of poets as he was a Prophet, who had arrived at the disturbed religious scene in order to disclose the secrets of the Three Vedas and rekindle the abysmal path to human deliverance and universal salvation by a more prac-

tical approach than the metaphysics of Upaniṣadas of the subterfuges of the Three Mystical Steps of Viṣṇu which defied logic and psychology. On and from Stanza twentythree Anuparama states categorically that the Brāhmannic Patriarchs “Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati, Uśanasa and his like have given, it is true, a code of laws based upon the Revelations of the Three Vedas.” But “Dvaipāyana,” according to the twenty fourth-stanza, “has carefully studied the historic basis of the chronology of the kings in order to find a logical ground for his conclusions and indited the epic of Bhārat for the instruction and guidance of human beings.” Evidently, Anuparama-gupta Gomī challenges the historical basis of the chronology of kings mentioned in Bhārata against the background of the Ābhīrian and Kirānta chronicles of Nepal. We have also pointed out how the Life of Buddha challenges the veracity of the Brāhmannic chronicles of Mahābhārata and Raghuvamśa based more on the etymological formation and inflexion of words than on the facts of history. We can see through the lines of Anuparama’s “Stotra” that Dvaipāyana had put up a hollow chronicle of Kings without the rationality of a common dialogue between the Patriarchs and the peoples. It is more in the nature of a dream of the good deeds of King Sagara and his like who were Emperors of the Universe, dug the earth in their search for the sacrificial horse hidden by Kapila and thus created the ocean and performed “Aśvamedhas” (horse-sacrifices) and placated the Brāhmannic priests with their gifts which were irrevocable. The prospects of the pleasures of heaven and the sufferings of Hell in return for these meritorious sacrifices and vice-versa do not appear to have represented a rational approach to the concept of Dharma (Law) as they were being understood by the Pāsupatacāryas (Professors of practical psychology) who pursued the path of perception through Yoga (self-discipline) or by atheistical Saugatas who aimed at self-perfection on this side of the grave. Through the mutilated lines at the outset of the Inscription, we get the impression that the cult of the Light Deities seem to have influenced Vedic Śmṛti-compilations, so that Anuparama was now trying to find on the basis of Vedic Revelations an answer to the path of self-perfection pursued by the Saugatas on the basis of the meditative practices prescribed by Buddhānusmṛtis. Could he accept the Vedic Revelations as eternal as the laws of nature for the welfare of the people who claimed to follow nature under his own diffi-

cult conditions ? How else could he find a premise to recognise the historic basis of the chronology of the kings mentioned in the epic of “ Bhārata ” and its concept of “ Dharmma ” (Law) in his attack upon the heretical Saugatas, unless they are supported by concrete examples by practical people who have made an objective study of science and history for its own Śāka. Anuparama could recognise the laws of Bhārata as eternal and unchallengeable and as an epic for the teaching of history to mankind only when it is attested by scientific proofs as the result of an objective study of history. On and from stanza 26th Anuparama discusses the practical aspects of the Five sensory perceptions in his assessment of Dvaipāyana's stories of Bhārata in the context of the Buddhistic works of the Saugatas who are condemned as atheists by the Brāhmannic patriarchs. In any case, man was not an automation and that he had a soul. Evidently, Anuparama seems to support Dvaipāyana's thesis of human soul vis-a-vis Śākyamuni's discussions of “ Āttā ” (soul) and “ Anāttā ” (non-soul). Then the Nepalese poet praises Dvaipāyana as an adversary of vice, and in this context he concedes victory to the Brāhmannic teacher over the heretical Saugatas who did not believe in human soul (Ātman). How could the Three Vedas justify themselves as examples for the peoples of the world to follow them without the backing of the legends of Bhārata which enunciated the principles and practices of the Smṛtis (Laws) based upon the Vedic Śrutis (Revelations)!

It is remarkable that Anuparama, though he refutes the “ Anāttā ” (non-soul) theory of the historical Buddhas, equally questions the validity of Bhārata as a historical document calculated to teach history to mankind. However, he is inclined to feel the validity of the path of Yoga (self-discipline) by the practices of sensory perception as a possible compromise between the contending Vedic and Buddhistic traditions. It appears to me that the Inscription of the Pilaster of Hari-gāon is one of the most precious documents of an Ābhīra which shows the intellectual capacity of the remarkable Avars who were playing such important roles in world history together with the Huns and the Licchavis at this period. In this ever-widening gulf between the traditions of the Vedic Brāhmins and the atheistical Saugatas, Anuparama, by one stroke of his pen, reaffirmed the validity of the Yogic path of sensory perception as the bridge between the Vedic Patriarchs and the Buddhistic Saugatas.

Thus we see that our Inscription, under review, confirms by an authentic document of the fifth century A.D. that the epic of Bhārata, in the context of the religious development of Nepal, was considered to be a recollection of the Vedic Revelations based more upon traditional legends than on the facts of history. In other words, the Smṛti-compilations were considered to be didactic treatises illustrated with morals and intrigues to suit the needs of the Vedic Prophets. Guided by its instinct or more properly by virtue of the unconscious Vedic traditions that had accumulated through the centuries of Indo-Aryan propagation of the worship of the Gods of the sky and of the Three Incomprehensible Steps of the Almighty Viṣṇu, Dvaipāyana's talent had forged the legendary link to proclaim the educative value of Bhārata, where the historical Buddhas had risen to refute the Vedic Revelations. It is now easy to scan the lost horizon of Religion with the aid of this precious document specially as it comes from the pen of the talented Ābhīras who nevertheless, did not recognise the dictum of Dvaipāyana as to the involuntary and compulsive gifts in the name of Brāhmannic Dharmma (Law) vis-a-vis the voluntary nature of the Buddhistic formulary of donation. The subsequent Licchavi Inscriptions show how the peoples of Nepal violently opposed the formulary of Dvaipāyana even when king Vasanta-deva introduced it with proper safeguards. Anuparama is inclined to believe that the concept of heaven and hell is a fiction, and although Dvaipāyana has annihilated vice by his own individual example of good character, the Vedic Revelations and the resulting laws of recognition have not been able to define the nature and form of desire which leads to the flood of passion, lust and sensuality as the root-cause of sin. The poet feels that Dvaipāyana has fulfilled his duties according to the injunctions of the Three Vedas, but he is reticent whether such a solitary example is adequate to combat the teachings of Saugatas as the right way to the attainment of "Amṛta" (the nectar of existence) by expounding the intricate theory of "Ātman" (soul) in the context of universal salvation among the masses of peoples who are tossing on the ocean of existence under the weight of passions and sins. No doubt, Anuparama thanks Dvaipāyana for his skill in using the case-history of the legendary kings mentioned in the treatises of Manu, Yama, Brhaspati, Uśanasa and his like, so that the adherents of the Three

Vedas may perform their duties and discharge their responsibilities according to their castes. But the subtle interpretation of the case-history of kings described in Bhārata would be difficult for the comprehension of mankind until such time as we accept the infallibility of the Vedic injunctions. But objective science and judgment cannot penetrate the veil that links the subtle theory of the transmigration of soul associated by the vedic Patriarchs with the Divine origin of the super-castes and their parallel claim for special privileges and rights in a progressive society that was tending to be classless by self-culture.

On and from Stanza 30, the Inscription takes the form of an eulogy of Dvaipāyana couched in contradictory terms which appear profound on the surface but baffle scientific analysis and definition. A comparative study of the Śaivite, Vedic and Buddhistic monuments and Inscriptions of Nepal show how the concept of "Saddharma" (true law) developed after the impact of Dvaipāyana's epic of Bhārata, though politically it was most disastrous as it led to dynastic disputes between the progeny of Vijayavatî and Mahîdeva on the one hand and Jayasundarî and Vasanta-deva on the other.

The impact of the Inscription of Anuparama-gupta Gomî on the inscriptions of Indian kings and Sanskrit literature in general :

We have tentatively discussed the religious and political significance of the Royal title of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka and Parama-Bhāgavata assumed by the Licchavi kings of Nepal and the Gupta kings of India in their respective protocols. S. Levi seems to be inclined to feel that, after the publication of Anuparama's Inscription, the imitation of the Nepalese model is to be found in the Indian Inscriptions and literature. We have also discussed how and in what way the formulary of Dvaipāyana differs in its content from Inscriptions to Inscriptions of Indian kings and peoples. Then, too, we have indicated how the scripts engraved and traced on our Pilaster is Brāhmî of the Northern class of about the fourth and fifth century A.D. In the absence of a precise date, the palaeographical data and the language provide a substantial clue to class it with Māna Deva's Pillar Inscription in the courtyard of the temple of Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa and the series of Inscriptions founded during his reign. S. Levi, Gnoli and Nepalese scholars have adequately discussed the characteristics of the archaic letters which baffled Bhagabanlal Indraji and Fleet by their uniqueness.

The discovery of the name of the Kashmiri king Kramalīla connects this inscription directly with the celebrated poet Kumāralīla who mentions Dvaipāyana as the author of the epic of Mahābhārata with the set purpose of justifying the marriage of Draupadī with the five Pāṇḍavas in contradiction to the Brāhmannic tradition. Whereas Anuparama has singled out Dvaipāyana with the set purpose of arraying the Brāhmannic Patriarchs against the Saugatas, Kumāralīla has singled out the same person as the author of social intrigues under the name of Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana and Vyāsa. But both the Nepalese and the Kashmiri poets do not invoke Dvaipāyana in the capacity of the Brāhmannic gods as done in the epic of Mahābhārata and in Gupta Inscriptions of India. It is remarkable that the Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra, when he composed a digest of the epic of Mahābhārata in the 11th century, quoted adequately from Anuparama's Inscription to designate Vyāsa as a talented poet. Thus we see that the Pillar Inscription of Harigāon stands as a land-mark in the development of Bhāgavata-dharma in transition from the cult of Heliodoros and hands down to Sanskrit literature a useful and precious document.

More important than its literary contributions is its impact upon the developing religious history of Nepal, specially when we consider the contents of this Inscription with the Inscription of the victory pillar of Māna Deva and the Buddhistic Inscriptions of the period. After his preliminary experiments with the Smṛti-laws, Māna Deva's Inscription of Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa dated Samvat 386 (464 A.D.) opens with his prayer to his ancestral God represented by Hari in the holy of the holies of the sanctuary. As a devoted wife of king Dharmma-deva, Queen Mother Rājyavatī was obsessed by the thought of her unworthiness as a sinful woman before her ancestral God after the death of her husband. No routine of the Buddhistic practices of Pañcaśīla (five moralities), renunciation, fidelity, penances, abstinances or solitary confession could mitigate her spiritual anxiety short of self-immolation with the corpse of her spouse in the fire as " Satī. " This is the earliest example of the voluntary practice of Satī, after the legend of Dakṣaprajāpati, where queen Rājyavatī tries to break the link " with the chain of hope strung together by the infinite variety of pleasures in our mirage of life. " But, unlike Akbar the Great under similar situation, king Māna Deva falls at his mother's feet and changes his mother's behaviour

pattern by telling her that he could acquit himself to the brave tradition of his forefathers by the baptism of a Kṣatriya as a member of the military clan who protected the peoples and brought happiness to them as a "Rājā". With the conclusion of his victorious campaigns to the East and West, it was king Māna Deva who won his mother from her cruel obsession by requesting her to make voluntary gifts to the Twice-born (Brāhmins) with a happy heart. The shape of the pillars of Chāñgu-Nārāyaṇa and Hari-gāon are similar though the size of the former is by far the larger. Paleography, as already discussed, assigns the two Inscriptions to the same period. But while the Inscription of Anuparama focuses our attention on the religious differences between the Vedic Brāhmins and the atheistical Buddhists, King Māna Deva's Inscription seems to follow the tradition of the Buddhist Himālayas even in his prayer to his ancestral god Hari. If the inscription of Anuparama ends up with an eulogy of Dvaipāyana, Māna Deva appears to have studied and analysed the Vedic and the Buddhist traditions to arrive at his own conclusions as to the evaluation of duty and our actions in a spirit of sincerity. It is not so much by the magnitude of our mortifications and practices of the five moralities, as by our spirit of sincerity and our devotion to duty, however humble in our station and sphere, that we could acquit ourselves to man and God.

Under the influence of the learned works of the celebrated Indian leaders Bālagangādhara Tilak and Mahātmā Gāndhī, I had written a rambling article on the doctrines of the holy Bhāgavata in my tentative compilations of the "Countries and the Peoples of the world" at the outset of my career. After a mature study of Anuparama's eulogy to Dvaipāyana, I made a comparative study of the sentiments of the Licchavis, Ābhīras and the Śākyas obtaining in our Inscriptions which opened to me a new vista in the lost horizon of religion. Of the four Vedic authorities mentioned by Anuparama, the epic of Mahābhārata (XIII, 2239) designates Bṛhaspati, Manu and Uśanasa as the compilers of the Brāhmannic laws while the Celestial song of Bhagavadgītā (Chapter X Stanza 37) mentions Uśanasa as the Prince of poets of the same category as Kṛṣṇa himself. The epic of Mahābhārata (XIII, 2477) associates the ancient "Kirtana gāthās" (traditional songs) with the name of Yama. Eminent authors have written volumes on the role of the devotional doctrines of Bhāgavata on the peoples of India. From

the starting point of the R̥gvedic "Three Incomprehensible Steps of the Almighty Viṣṇu," the Indo-Greeks appear to have developed the cult of the holy Vāsudeva along with the Kauśiks where we also find the reaction of the rival cult of Saṃ-buddha propagated by the descendants of Gārgī-lopā. We have already pointed out, how the Gupta kings of India assumed the title of Paramabhāgavata in deference to the same creed, while the Licchavis continued with the traditional title of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas, notwithstanding the inscriptions of Māna Deva, Anuparama and Dharma-pāla before the icons of their special ancestral gods. But the atheistical Saugatas and the Brāhmannic patriarchs in our Inscriptions are not associated in a common homage with Śākyamuni, Mañjuśree, Mahāsthāma, Hari or Vāsudeva, as Dvaipāyana or Vyāsa find identical mention in each great division of the epic of Mahabhārata. The invocation to Nārāyaṇa, Nara, Sarasvatī and Vyāsa in a common worship, in Professor Buhler's judgment, demonstrates that the Hindu epic is a Smṛti-compilation of Dvaipāyana where the author and Manu are regarded as the descendents of androgenous Brahmā. We are thus authorised to suppose, without fear of contradiction, that Anuparama's hymn to the saintly Dvaipāyana offers us the first historical document of Bhāgavata worship against the overall background of the development of the doctrines of the Saugatas in the fifth century A.D. Our Inscriptions are deeply human where they discuss the problems of war and peace and life and death dispassionately. The wind of change takes the form of erotic phalluses of Śiva over ring-stones or stone-Caityas which tend to assume the form of Śiva-liṅga. On the death of king Māna Deva, Anuparama and Dharma-pāla, their wives (Kṣemasundarī, Guṇavatī and Vijaya-svāminī or Ābhīrī or Mṛginī) dedicate the phalluses of Śiva accompanied by the worship of Kāraṇa-pūjā to commemorate their husbands irrespective of their faith while they lived. These erotic symbols and couplings represent the indefinable mystical experience of our mixed peoples as to the beginning and end of all creation. The possibility of overcoming Death lies ultimately in the recovery of the Indivisible Śiva-liṅga over the ring-stone.

If we do not understand the significance of the Two-in-One, our religion becomes "at once a religion of sensualist exuberance, and a religion of self-torturing asceticism; a religion of the Liṅgum, and of the Juggernaut; the religion of the monk and Bayadere."

CHAPTER : XV

The political conditions of Central Asia and northern India according to the Annals of China and the Inscriptions of the contemporaries of the Gupta kings of India :

We have discussed the political, religious and social excitement of the volatile period of King Māna Deva's long reign with particular reference to the Inscriptions of the Ābhīras and the Saugatas. The aesthetic experience of the Śākya, Kolīś and Licchavis seems to be reacting upon the mental and spiritual horizon of the Gomīs, Mitras and Sañghas who appear to have provided the points of contact between the Himālayan peoples and the trans-Himālayan Hunas, Chionites or Hepthalites who were rising as factors under the laws envisaged by Māna Deva's Era of Bhairavi-cakra which made a revolutionary impact on the old order of things. Nevertheless, the religious situation was far from being easy, specially as the Brhāmannic and Buddhistic intellectuals went on creating their respective currents and cross currents of cults under their own prophets and patriarchs who had their own patrons and faithfuls in various circles of the restless Himālayan aristocracy. The birth-pangs of Māna Deva's Era of Bhairavi-cakra are evident in their Inscriptions, arti-facts and their articles of worship. It would be useful at this stage to record the evidences of the Annals of China against the background of the great archaeological discoveries of the Soviet peoples, which have opened a new window on the several Āpār or Avār (Ābhīra) tribes who belonged originally to the Iranian stock and lived in the region to the north of the Oxus (Amudaria). What is most tantalising is the fact that the earliest monument representing the religious faith of the Ābhīras is located in the heart of Nepal.

In his Introduction to " Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu," Professor Petech says that " the travels of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India have always drawn a good deal of attention from western scholars; so have also the accounts of India and its kingdoms found scattered in the twentyfour dynastic histories of China. But, strange to say, there is one Chinese text which has not received its due consideration, as far as India is concerned..... " Although the Shui-ching-chu was compiled

at the beginning of the 6th century A.D., " all of these materials are much older. Fa-hsien is probably the latest, and the rest go back to the 4th or even the 3rd century A.D. Political conditions at the time of the compilations are wholly ignored. When Li Tao-yuan was writing, modern Afghanistan belonged to the Chionites or Hephthalites, wrongly also called white Huns. They were divided into two branches; the one ruled a mighty state north of the Hindukush and for a time imposed tribute on the Sassanid Empire; the other held sway south of the mountains, with their centre round Ghazni (Zabulistan) and extending their rule over Kāpiśi and Gandhāra. But when the Shui-ching-chu comes to describe the lands north of the Hindukush, it merely repeats the old tales on the Yüch-chih and Sai-wang, going back to the time of the Han. For the lands south of the Hindukush, it brings nothing but religious matters; Fa-sien reigns nearly undisputed. In India proper, the kingdom of the Imperial and the later Guptas are wholly ignored (as indeed it is by Fa-hsien), and political information is practically lacking. We may conclude these remarks by saying that the material of the Shui-ching-chu on India is nearly exclusively Buddhist and of religious character, and is older than Shui-ching-chu by at least a century. "

We have already pointed out in previous chapters how the early books translated into Chinese as well as the names of gods and men occurring in our Licchavi Inscriptions have a tendency to tally. In one form or another our Manuscript libraries have preserved with meticulous care all the works translated by the Chinese peoples on and from the first century A.D. The relative Inscriptions, icons, stone-caityas and such names of Buddhist patriarchs as Dharma-pāla and Mahāvala testify to the fact that there was a regular traffic between Kapilavastu and China through Central Asia after the dispersion of the Śākyas and Kolīs from Kapilavastu.

To proceed with Professor Petech " The hydrography of Northern India is largely fictitious. The Ganges of the Shui-ching-chu is not so much a real river, as a thread in the narrative, by which the places and regions described are somehow brought into relation with each other. Li Tao-yüan or his sources have not much regard for geographical facts, and sometimes the bearings are interchanged, as when the Ganges is made to flow north of Vaiśālī, Śāketa and Kapilavastu, or when in Magadha it flows from east of west simply because Fa-hsien happened to travel in that direction.

The fictitiousness is the main reason why I have preferred to study the text quotation by quotation and not as a whole, even if this may appear to hinder a proper appreciation of Li Tao-yüan's work. But in this chapter it is the quotations alone which offer some interest; the slender contribution of Li Tao-yüan in the way of connecting text can be safely left out of consideration." Evidently, the Chinese had obtained the names of the ancient cites and rivers of the Buddhist Himālayas from the Śākya and Koli emigrants after the Dispersion. The occurrence of such names as Sumeru (Meru=K'un-lun), Kailāsa, Sindhu, Bhida (river Bheri), Yao-nu (Karnāli), Hiranyavati (Gaṇḍakī), Mo-ho-la (Mallapuri) forming part of the Janapada (Peoples' Republics) of Mahārāt, A-nou-ta, Chi-pin, Ku-stana etc. could be easily identified with the ancient sites of Sumeru-culture-complex and how it spread in Central Asia.

Except for the vague hydrography of the Himālayas done on the basis of ancient tradition of Sumeru, Kailāsa and A-nou-ta, the Chinese texts of the Hou Han-shu and the Wei-lüeh of the third century A.D. do not mention the routes taken by the ancient Himālayan tribes on their way to Central Asia and China. There is also no mention in these texts of the routes taken by Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang from Khotan, Kuchā and Kashgar. We find vague geographical terms such as Chi-pin (Indra-grha), Ta-hsia (Bactriana), Kao-fu (Kabul) and T'ien-chu (India) which could be interpreted any way we like. All these countries are regarded as the subjects of the Yüechih (the Śakas) of Suvarṇagotra (gold-race-origin). We have pointed out in Chapters VI and VII how these were the periods of immense religious activities. With the invasion of the Huṇas, China broke up into two halves, of which the southern half lost touch with the centres of Mahāyānic Buddhism in Central Asia, so that Southern China developed contacts with Hīnayāna Buddhism through the corridor of what is Vietnam today. Northern China was torn by unending wars between short-lived dynasties though with pretentious Imperial titles which signified nothing. During the entire Chin period (265-420 A.D.), China appears to have lost all political connections with the countries of the Yüechih, except for a brief record in Ko-i-kung's Kuang-chih saying that "the large dogs of Chi-pin were as big as donkeys. From a distance of various Li, the natives used to shake the tambourings in order to call them." As a geographical term Chi-pin may refer here to

the land of Indra which may be Indra-gr̥ha or Indra-pura where the cult of Indra was developing to work out a synthesis of Śaivism, Brāhmannism and Buddhism along the cross-roads of Asia. Nevertheless the stray mention of Chi-pin in this confused period of history is a reminder of the fact that religion, rather the politics, was a factor between Chi-pin and China.

Northern China was finally unified under the Wei dynasty (386-534 A.D.). It was only during the last years of the Wei dynasty, when the capital was moved to the classical Loyang in 494 A.D. that the Chinese seem to have heard new names for the old countries which 'practically rendered their classical geography of the Former-Han-Times obsolete. According to Petech the following Embassies are listed in the Annals of Wei-shu (ch 8 and 9) :—

Chi-pin	451, 502, 508 and 507 A.D.
Chia-pi-sha	503 A.D.
Pu-liu-sha	511 A.D.
Kān-ta	511 A.D.
Chia-chih-mi	511 A.D.

The mention of the first Chinese Mission to Chi-pin as early as 451 A.D. brings us to the period of King Māna Deva when there was already a confederation of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas in the Himālayas and beyond. Chi-pin apparently refers here to the federation of the fraternal kingdoms of the Huṇas (the Chionite state of Zabulistan, the Ābhīras and the Licchavis which were the only strong powers in the Himālayas and north-western India at the time. A comparative study of early Chinese contacts contained in Chapter VI with the hydrography of Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu would help us to identify some of the bewildering variety of names appeating with the later annals. Apart from Chi-pin, Chia-pi-sha may be ancient Kāpisha. Similarly Pu-liu-sha, Kānta and Chia-shih-mi may be ancient Puruṣapura (Peshawar), Gandhāra and Kashmir respectively. The despatch of three Missions to Peshawar, Gandhāra and Kashmir in 511 A.D. tend to the conclusion that these countries were getting united under the Hunnic kings Tormāṇa and Mihirakula. Evidently, the Capital of Gandhāra was Peshawar which belongs to Pakistan to-day. The faith of these Hepthalite kings in Paśupati and Man-boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu, and the part played by Kramalila in spreading the knowledge of

Anuparama's comparative study of the doctrines of the Saugatas and Dvāipāyana in Kashmir—all these are proofs that the Huṇas (Hepthalites or Chionites), Tokharins and Kuccheans were being influenced by the thoughts of the Licchavis, Gomīs (Ābhīras) and Saugatas. This lends importance to the protocol of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas assumed by the Licchavi kings and also explains the religious and social significance of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka Era. The new religious and social concepts that rejuvenated and united these tribes and helped the Huṇas and Ābhīras to establish the largest confederation of Brother-Kings and world community,—seems to be much more important from human point-of-view than our petty disputes about the confusing chronology of the Universal Emperors.

Inscriptions of the contemporaries of the Gupta kings with reference to the names and cognomen of the persons who bore them :

We have explained in Chapter VIII what such cognomen as Śākyas, Kolīs, Licchavis, Gomīs, Śarmma, Varmma, Gupta, Dāsa etc. connote in the Inscriptions of Nepal and generally in the northern Inscriptions. After their dispersion from Kapilavastu, the Śākyas and Kolīs are to be found as religious teachers from Central Asia down to Central India. Because the Śākiyan aristocracy claimed solar origin and created Vṛsala (bastards) they had to bear the brunt of the attack of Virūdhaka. But while the Śākyas changed their caste, creed and solar pretensions, the Vedic Brāhmins succeeded to the super-race theory and used this instrument to exploit the weakness of human nature to control the peoples of the lower castes. But the Śarmma, Varmmas, Gomīs, Guptas and Dāsas in northern Inscriptions connote their callings rather than their caste. The Kirāntas and the Śakas claim Suvarṇa-gotra (gold-race origin) as a mixed tribe. The northern Inscriptions took a poor view of the Guptas because they were Vaisyas (traders). With the Licchavis of Nepal the cognomen Varmma becomes a synonym of the fighters while the Ābhīras appear with the second name Gupta and cognomen Gomī (Gomīn). However, the dynasty of Paramābhimāni reject the cognomen Gomī with Aṃśuvarmān, so that the second name Gupta becomes Synonymous with Varmān as the equal of the ruling race of the Licchavis to the rejection of the cognomen Gomī. Contrary to the assumption of Dr D.R. Regmi, these Ābhīras have no affiliation with

the Gupta kings of India. Professor S. Levi notices the change in the spelling from Varmma to Varmān in Aṃśuvarmān's Inscriptions to conclude that it represents the change of the role of succession from the Licchavis to the Rajput Thakuri dynasty in Nepal. It is yet too early to think of a Rajput Thakuri dynasty in Nepal, as the title was given by the Kauśīk Brāhmins to the Huṇas when they settled in Rājputāna. The claim to Kṣatriahood by no less a person than king Māna Deva was because he took the oath of a fighter before his Mother and acquitted his duties to his fore-fathers by fighting and winning wars as they did. In the same way the term "Dviija" (twice-born) in Māna Deva's Inscriptions applies to these people who had distinguished themselves by their achievements to become "Pātras" (worthy recipients like the plates) after they took baptism in their respective fields.

The same seems to be true of the glorious race of the Ābhīras who were judged and classified according to their callings. Very much like the Ābhīras in the courts of the Śaka kings, the Ābhīras in the court of the Licchavi kings were proud and talented people who distinguished themselves as great thinkers and writers, Royal delegates, Police chief with judicial powers, performers of sacrifices in the new scheme of the worship with the FIVE Ms and officers and prime-ministers. The second name of "Gupta" does not also classify the Ābhīras with the trading communities as in the case of the Guptas in the Central Asiatic documents. We have traced the origin and rise of the race of the Ābhīras from their far away home to the north of Amudaria as far as the Himālayas and what part they played in the courts of the Śaka and Licchavi kings and also how Samudra-gupta classified and assessed them without the least knowledge that they were playing a very important role in neighbouring Nepal which he has mentioned. Like the Śakas and the Licchavis, the Ābhīras with the cognomen Gomī had become a factor as teachers of the Central Asiatic and Tibetan tribes before the debut of the Huṇas in the international forum.

The Varmān kings of Mālwā and Bengal during the Licchavi and Gupta periods :

Now that we have discussed the inscriptions of the Aryan kings Candra Varmān of Bengal and Naravarmān of Malwa with reference to the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra-gupta, it would be useful to discuss the Inscriptions

of Nara-varmma (N.I.IV) dated Samvat 388 (466 A.D.), Kṣema-sundarî's Inscription dated Samvat 390 (468 A.D.) and Guṇavatî's Inscription dated Samvat 419 (497 A.D.) dedicated to her father Kinnara-varmān which throw a flood of light on the religious, social and political situation of the period of *king Māna Deva*.¹⁴⁵ All these Inscriptions are inscribed around the ring-stones supporting the phallus of Śiva within what is the Lājanpat area of about one square mile close to Māna Deva's caricature of the bas-relief of Viṣṇu in Three Incomprehensible Vedic Steps. It appears from the Inscriptions of Kṣemasundarî and Guṇavatî that they were the wives of King Māna Devā. Evidently Kṣema-sundarî was the mother of King Vasanta-deva and his sister Jaya-sundarî. Judging from the antecedents of the Inscriptions of Naravarmma and queen Kṣema-sundarî they appear to be related. The father of Guṇavatî is known to be Kinnaravarmān.

We know from the Inscriptions of Mālwa that king Nara-varmān was the father of Visva-varmān and the grand-father of Bandhu-varmān. The references to Kailāsa as the abode of Pasupati as well as to the worship of the image of Dolāśikharasvāmin (Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa) and the vocabulary of the Inscriptions show very close connections with the inscriptions of the period of king Māna Deva. By the second half of the fifth century A.D. the whole of Asia appears to have been stirred up like sediment. The fundamental unity of the Inscriptions of the Huṇa, Mālava and Licchavi kings is real (See Chapters VIII and XIII and the corresponding notes). Unlike the rambling Inscriptions of the Gupta kings of India, such names as " Mayurākṣa ", " Vṛṣa " and " Māna " occurring in the Inscriptions of the Varmān kings of Mālwa and the Licchavi kings of Nepal show that they had introduced new terms to the Vocabulary of India. We have also pointed out how the Inscriptions of Naravarmān and Vandhu-varmān paleographically belonged to the last quarter of the fifth-century. Subsequent to this, the Inscriptions of Aṃśuvarmān spell the Śaka Era as " Kṛta-yuga " (कृतयुग) which is identical with the spellings of (a) Nara-varmān's Inscription dated Mālava-years 529 and 463 discovered in the state of Gwalior; (b) Visva-varman's Inscription dated Kṛta-yuga 480 in Gangdhār Jhālāwar state of Central India; and (c) Mandosar Dasapura Inscription of Vandhu-varmān and Kumāragupta,—all of which we have discussed adequately in Chapters VIII and XIII with corresponding notes. We have also pointed out how

the ancestral and the esoteric worship represented in their Inscriptions is similar to the worship of the Licchavis, Ābhīras and the Huṇas. It would be useful at this stage to discuss the Inscriptions of the Huṇnic Kings Toramāṇa Shāhī and Mihirakula in greater detail than heretofore.

The Inscriptions of Kings Toramāṇa Shāhī (C. 500-515 A.D.) and Mihirakula (C. 515-535 A.D.) :

It may not be useful to discuss whether the Huṇa kings were Chionites or Hephthalites. But if Manjuk (Munzuk)—the father of Attila, followed the Mañju-śhree dharma as the Gomīs taught him, the Inscriptions of Toramāṇa Shāhī and Mihirakula very closely pursue Mañju-śhree-dharma (the law of Mañju-śhree) in the overall religious scheme of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka Era. As to the ethnic origin of these particular Huṇa-kings, it is pointed out that the name Toramāṇa is dervied from the Turkic word “ Turaman, Tureman or Toramāṇa ” which means a “ Rebel.” It is remarkable that this rebellious king assumes to himself the title of Shāhī after king Kaṇishka whose coins are inscribed with the title of “ Shāhāno Shāo. ” We can very easily trace the origin of the title to the old Persian title of “ Khshāyathiyānām khahāyathiya ” found in the Bistun Inscription of king Danus (Dārā C 522-486 B.C.) and the Persepolish Inscription of king Xerxes (Khshayarsha or Khār-khān C. 486-465 B.C.). It is remarkable that the Śakas, Kushāṇas, Huṇas, Rajput, Khasa and Thakuri kings of Western Nepal and Western Tibet inherited the same title. The Mongol Emperors of India adopted the same title in the form of “ Śāhānu-śāhī ” (षाहानु षाही) exactly as the Rajput Thakuri kings of Western Nepal spelled and used it. Finally the present Rajput dynasty of the kings of Gorkhā have adopted the same title in the modern Iranian form “ Shāhan Shāh. ” Thus we see that the combination of the “ Kṣātra, Shah and Deva ” associated with the Gorkhā kings of Nepal seems to be sanctioned by a very long tradition and usage. Then, too, we have explained the significance of “ Janapadas ” and “ Gaṇarājyas ” which were the most ancient versions of People’s Republics and how the fraternal kings formed a sort of confederation from Kuchā to Kapilavastu with the rise of the Kushāṇas to power. Our latest discovery of the coins and monuments of King Kaṇishka in Lumbinī Sisahania and Śravastī leave no ground for doubt that he founded his era from Kapilavastu in the

wake of Nirvāṇa and Śāka Eras, which the Licchavi kings adopted on the frontons of their Inscriptions along with the Śāka system of coinage.

Since Toramāṇa has styled himself as a "Jaubla" (जउबल) derived from the Turkish word JVL meaning falcon on an Inscription discovered in the village of Kurā (Salt range in the province of the Punjāb), Professors Bühler and Kielhorn were inclined to reject the theory that he was the father of king Mihirakula. According to paleographical evidences, scholars have attributed this particular record to the fourth and the fifth century. It must be remembered that the title "Jaubla" may also refer to Toramāṇa's faith for the Holy Land of Jambhala in the valley of Nepal, where originally the Revelation of the astro-psychic theory of Kāla-cakra took place with the symbol of the Twelve-spoked-wheel of Law in lieu of the eight-spoked wheel of Dharma-cakra. Subsequent to this transition, the name Jambhala or Śambhala become associated with the Holy Lands of Urgyan, Orgyan or Uḍḍiyāna-pīṭha where the astro-psychic theory of death was symbolised by a Wheel with twelve spokes. Briefly this astro-psychic system of Kāla-cakra was calculated to produce an immediate revulsion in the primary consciousness of the Yogis (mystics) by its classification of the twelve mental conditions with its new approach to the "Yogic" goal of spiritual asceticism known as Kāla-grāsa (कालग्रास). Kāla-grāsa means the devouring activity of Time which defies the concept of Āryan Eight Paths of Plain Living and High Thinking as a system capable of activating our spiritual consciousness by progressive stages (Krama) through the path of sensory perception.

According to the evidences of Tibetan scriptures, this Uḍḍiyāna-pīṭha has now been identified with the valley watered by Swat river in what is Western Pakistan today. We have already discussed how the ancient cult of Yoginīs was associated with the esoteric worship of the Pīṭhas as a sequel to the development of the theory of Two-in-one (Ardhanārīśvara or Strīśvara). Then, too, we have a large number of the stumps of Sthānu-Śiva (Paśupati-liṅgas) with four faces carved on the four cardinal compass corners in order to represent the symbiosis of the gods of Śaivism, Brāhmanism and Buddhism along with the face of half-man and half-woman on the northern cardinal compass corner as an exposition of the concept of the Two-in-one. We know from the Inscriptions of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula

that their heads never bowed to any other than Sthānu-śiva, which, no doubt, was this type of the stump of Sthānu-śiva. This represented a development from the basic cult of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati in the astropsychic system of Death. Thus we see that this faith of the Hunnic kings gives a new perspective to the Indus-valley-culture and the cult of the Great Mother Goddess and the Shepherd god Paśupati in the new scheme of the astropsychic system of Kāla-cakra. It is remarkable that the development of Uḍḍiyāna-krama (the system of Kāla-grāsa, as it was developed in the Swat-river-valley), is adequately codified in such manuscripts as Tantrā-loka, Tantrā-sāra and Mahāyāna-prakāśa.

We have seen how Uḍḍiyāna (Swat), situated strategically between Central Asia and Pakistan along the ancient trade-routes, profited immensely from the traffic of a wide variety of peoples during the confrontation of the Śakas against the Persian Greek and Chinese generals. The religious, social and political conditions prevailing in such a prosperous country were very favourable for the convergence of ideas from different sources. Much earlier than this period, Uḍḍiyāna had supplied religious leaders for the Fourth Buddhist Council convened by Kaṇishka. According to Professor G. Tucci the valley of Swat is a prosperous country even to this day. "Situated as it was on the margin of the great thoroughfares which brought the West into contact with the East," continues the same author, "with Central Asia and India, and where met, not to repel but to approach one another, the most active religious of these times : Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, each laden with the intellectual and spiritual traditions of its country and of its adoption." During the invasion of China by the Hunnic (Chionite) king Mrgaśikhā in the first half of the sixth century A.D., the Annals of China give account of the visits to the capital of Loyang by such Buddhist teachers as Seng Ma-lo, Vinītaruci, Narendrayasaḥ and other Buddhist monks and architects from the valley of Swat. It is now known from the researches of Professor G. Tucci that the celebrated teacher Padmasambhava was born and brought up in Uḍḍiyāna. It is now easy to explain these events with reference to the actual Inscriptions of king Torarāṇa and Mihirakula.

The religious significance of the worship of Paśupati (Sthānu-Śiva), Vārāha (Manboar Incarnation of Viṣṇu) and Mahāyānic deities in the Inscriptions of kings Toramāna and Mihirakula :

We have adequately discussed the Inscriptions of the contemporaries of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula in Chapter VIII and the corresponding notes 117 to 119 against the background of the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal. It would be useful at this stage to consider the Inscriptions of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula on their own merits, as they express a medley of beliefs in the overall development of the religious concept of "Saddharma" (true law). Like the contemporary Licchavi Inscriptions, the Inscriptions of these Hunnic kings open with the mystical symbol or syllables of "Om svasti." In his Inscription of Eran of the Sāgar District of Central Provinces, Toramāṇa opens with a prayer to the Man-boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu "who caused a tremor over the mountains by the hard blows of his tusks and snout," and attributes his military victories to Him. Evidently, this is a prayer to the Man-boar Incarnation of Udayagiri in Central India. As for the actual development of the cult of the Man-boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu in the Scheme of Light Deities, the Nepalese Inscriptions and Sculptures are much more illuminating than the Vārāha image of Udayagiri.

Great importance is attached to the Man-boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu of Udayagiri by Indian historians who say that the image was founded by Chandragupta II (Vikrāmāditya) in order to commemorate his exploit of the rescue of his sister-in-law Dhruvāsvaminī from the clutches of the Śakas, Khasas or Huṇas. We have already discussed the historical aspects of "The tradition of kings Rāma-gupta and Chandra-gupta II in Chapter XIII. Before we take up the essential contributions of the system of Bhairavi-cakra to the inheritance of mankind in the following chapter, it may be useful at this stage to make a comparative study of the concepts underlying the worship of Man-boar in the Licchavi Inscriptions of Nepal and of the Hunnic kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. We have a number of the images of Man-boar Incarnation in the valley of Kathmandu and Vārāha-kṣetra in East Nepal. In Nepal the development of the cult of the six Incarnations of Viṣṇu follow in the chronological sequence of the Fish, Tortoise, Man-boar, Man-lion and the Midget in three Steps till they find their symbiosis in the cult of Avalokiteśvara (Buddha). Judging from the Licchavi-period basreliefs of the Man-boar and Man-lion, I am inclined to feel that they may be Brāhmannic developments from the Zoroastrian Zurvan. The notion that Time was bivalent is well known to early Ira-

nian speculations. It implies an astronomical entity with the impact of the cult of the Light Deities on the theory of the Jewel in the Lotus. The basreliefs of the Man-boar, Man-lion and the Midget in Three Incomprehensible Vedic Steps (See Plates concerned) are all founded on the principles and practices of Kaulikācara and Kāraṇa-pûjā in Nepal's scheme of Bhairavi-cakra. It is an attempt to assess Eternal Time and Time on the scale of *Nature*.¹⁴⁶

The Indian prototype of the Vārāhā of Udayagiri in Gwalior State, as it is illustrated in "A history of fine art in India and Ceylon (Plate 58 C), seems to be founded on the same principle of the Jewel and the Lotus theory. The mystical symbols and syllables preceding the Inscriptions of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula give us an idea of Time as a pure notion beyond any comparison, and a time which is being actuated in the day to day events of our ephemeral existence. In this religious scheme, the lady hanging from the tusks of Vārāhā of Udayagiri is not Dhruvasvāminî but the sublimated form of the Earth-goddess Mārici-vajra-vārāhî as the Goddess of Dawn. Somehow the Indian sculptor of the Vārāhā (Man-boar) of Udayagiri appears to have missed the trail of the cosmic water and the rescue of the Earth-goddess from the clutches of Hiranyakaśyapa who is a golden eyed demon of the Brāhmannic age of Truth (Satya-yuga).

On the other hand, the basrelief of Dhumvārāhā in Nepal is founded on a simple myth of the Himālayas as follows : The legend goes that the golden-eyed demon Hiranyākṣa had propitiated the shepherded god Śiva as Saṃvatsara by his penances and obtained such boons and benedictions from him that he could not be killed by man, bird, beast or by the weapons known to the time. Intoxicated with power he defied the Vedic gods and stopped Brāhmannic sacrifices which deprived them of their share of sacrificial offerings and oblations made by the faithfuls of their creed from the produce of the earth. The atheistical theories and practices of Hiranyākṣa so disturbed the Vedic gods that they repaired to the abode of the Almighty Viṣṇu and prayed to him that He might rescue the Earth from the clutches of the golden-eyed demon who had gone to sleep with her in the Hades. In response to the appeal of the Vedic gods, Viṣṇu assumed the incarnation of a Man-boar, fought Hiranyākṣa for a thousand years with his tusks, killed him by the hard blows of his snout and rescued the Earth as the

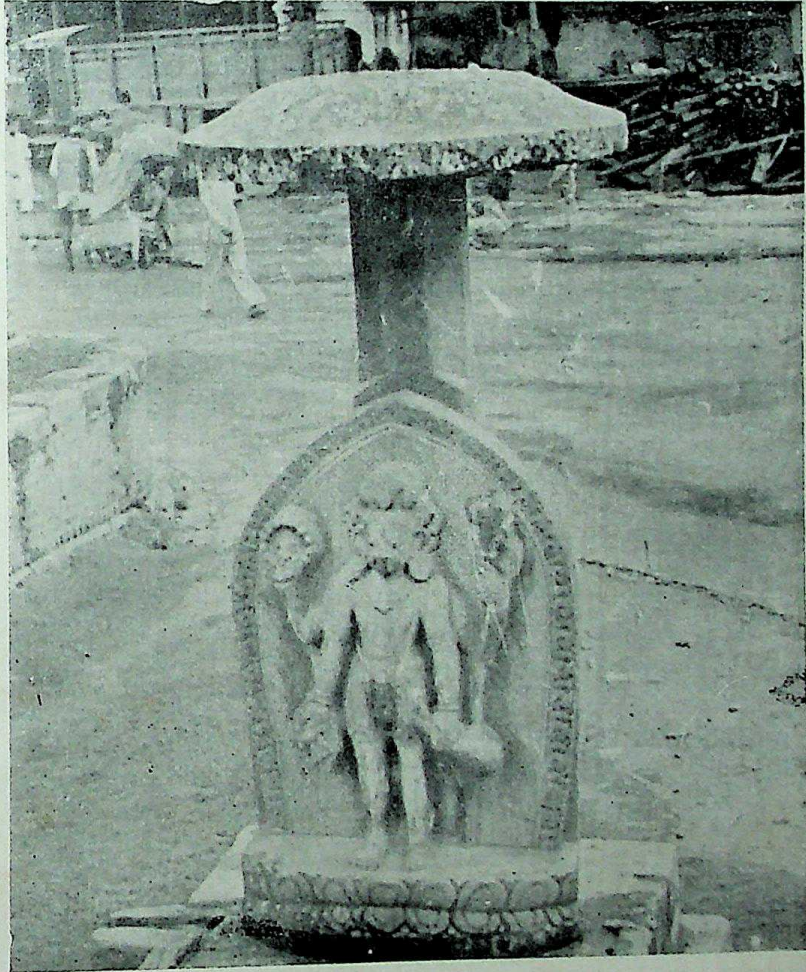
goddess of dawn on the tip of his elbow from the cosmic water of Hell that engulfed her. The pre-Licchavi and Licchavi period bas-reliefs of Man-boar in Kathmandu or Vārāha-kṣetra at the confluence of rivers Kauśikī and Kokā follow a pattern based upon the well-founded Tāntric dictum :

“Viṣṇorvāhulatā kaphoṇi-śikhare noddharitā Medinī.”

The aphorism means that the sinking earth was rescued on the tip of the elbow of the embracing arm of Viṣṇu. It is remarkable that the expression “Latā” or creeper in the sense of a paranormal levitation seems to be common between the concept of the Hunnic king Toramāṇa and the sculptor of the image of Dhumvārāha (Man-boar) of Nepal. Evidently the Dhumvārāha of Nepal and the Man-boar images of Vārāhakṣetra or Udayagiri have nothing to do with the rescue of Dhruvasvāminī from the clutches of the Hunas.

The worship and festival of the Man-boar is attributed to a person known as Umāsoma in an Inscription of Jīṣṇu-gupta (Gnoli : LIX, p. 79) dedicated to an image of Caṇḍeśvara with a parasol in the temple of Paśupati. The image of Chhatra-Caṇḍeśvara or Caṇḍeśvara with a parasol (see Plate XXII) is an image of Saṃbhu (Śiva) who is said to have incinerated Madana (Cupid) by belching forth fire from his Third Eye. Judging from the nature of the prayer of Jīṣṇu-gupta, this type of image with a parasol is sculptured to proclaim the universal reign of Śiva from his home among the troglodytic caves of Kailāsa situated over the summits of Sumeru. We notice the impact of the cults of Light Deities on the images of Śiva-ravilocana or Vairocana (see Plates XXIII) where Time is considered as limitations of the Yakṣa legends of Virūpākṣa and Hū-ṣa when they were absorbed in the early cult of Īśvaradeva in the astro-psychic scheme of Kāla-cakra after the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase epitaph. When Buddha Kanakamuni started the cosmic theory and Kapilamuni came out with his mathematical model of the Universe, Śākyamuni tried to work a compromise between them with his Eight-spoked-wheel of Law. We have adequately discussed the schism that followed in the first Buddhist council of Rāj-grha after the Great Passing and how the conflict gave rise to the Himavata or Kāsyapiya school of Buddhism. During the consequent transition from

Plate No. XXII



The image of Chhattra-caṇḍeśvara or the Victorious image of Śiva with a parasol who was claimed by the Ābhīras to have incinerated Virūpākṣa by belching forth fire from his Third Eye. Judging from Bhāravi's refutation of the cult and Jishṇu-gupta's dated image with a prayer, this seems to be a late myth invented by the Ābhīras to defeat the concept of Ardhānariśvara (Two-in-One)

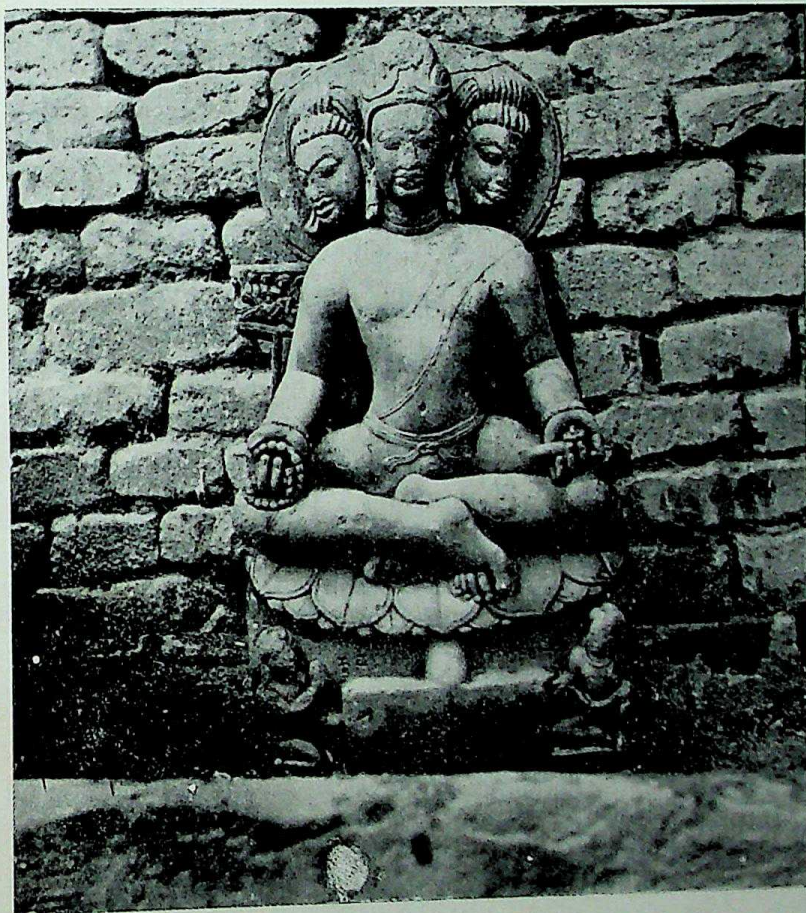
Dharma-cakra to Kāla-cakra, the Indo-Greeks and the Śakas interpreted the concept of Saṃbuddha and Saddharma (true law) against the background of the cults of Light Deities of the Persians and Greeks. In this transition, the sense of the evolution of time became inherent in the highest of the Himālayan peaks, Sumeru (Meru, Sagarmāthā=Mt. Everest) from where Śiva and Pārvatī (Himagiritanayā=the daughter of the snows) ruled over the universe. The ancient Gaṇas (tribal peoples of the Himālayan Gaṇa-rājyas) believed that the Sumeru (Meru) in the Himālayan chain of mountains was the "axis mundi" which divided the four continents of the Earth. Conversely, Saṃbhu and his consort in their abode of Kailāsa over the summit of Sumeru became the pivot round which the sun, moon and the planets revolved in order to accomplish their evolution of the sense of time.

The Inscription of Jīṣṇu-gupta shows that Śiva could reveal himself in many forms and aspects and also absorb the visible universe in his "Viśvarūpa." In process of time and particularly at this stage, the image of Caṇḍeśvara seems to be a development from the Yakṣa-cult of Virūpākṣa consequent upon the impact of the Light Deities which gave rise to the concept of Ravi-locana (Śiva with the Third eye of the Sun) and anticipated Buddha Vairocana. On the last analysis the Śaka-saṃvata (Era) was the result of the contact of the Śaka peoples with the Greek astronomy and astrology. From the point of view of Sumeru-culture-complex, as it developed with the impact of Greek astronomy, the sun and moon signify the time nature of Śiva. This was acknowledged even by the poet Kālidāsa in his Introductory stanza of the celebrated dramatic work of Sakuntalā, as those two forms of Śiva calculated to signify the bivalence of Time. But we do not find any mention of the Man-boar of Udayagiri or of the cult of Vārāha in the works of Kālidāsa except for the mention of the incarnation of Viṣṇu as the Midget in the Inscriptions of Kumāragupta under an entirely different religious setting and context from that of Nepal. Consciously or unconsciously Kālidāsa seems to be aware of the concept of Saṃbhu as the ruler of the planets (as Śiva-ravilocana or Vairocana) which was very popular with the Indo-Greeks, Śakas and Pahlavas. It is remarkable that there is no mention of the six incarnations of Viṣṇu in the whole gamut of the Raghuvamśam in the way they are being represented in the Inscriptions, sculptures and basreliefs of Nepal.

Unaware of the overall development of the concept of "Saddharma" (true law) with the impact of Greek astronomy, Professor H. Goetz thinks that "The Kaṇiṣhka Reliquary", found in the foundations of the gigantic Shahjī-kī dherī stūpa, is a golden cista, encircled by a frieze of lively Erotes holding a garland behind which the meditating Buddha (Vairocana), the sun-god and moon-god and minor deities appear scattering flowers. In front Kaṇiṣhka himself is standing. The garland frieze is very similar to the angel-frieze at Mīran. Around the lid there runs a frieze of flying swans, while on its top the figures of two Bodhisattvas (Candra-prabha and Sūrya-prabha) flank the preaching Buddha (Vairocana)." Both the reliquaries are very well illustrated in Plate 57 of "A history of fine art in India and Ceylon (Third Edition).

Speaking about the same Kaṇiṣhka's casket, Professor G. Tucci says that the "Sun and Moon have had a very long connection with Buddha (Casket of Kaṇiṣhka), so that sun-light and moon-light were hypostatized as two Bodhisattvas Sūrya-prabha and Candra-prabha." In the absence of historical datas, both the authors miss the links in the long chain of the development of concept of Dharma (Law) based upon a confused foundation of conventions, arbitrary assumptions and working fictions about the relationship of man and God. Like the author of the Inscription of Harigāon, Jishnu-gupta is an Ābhīra who has entered the fraternity of the Paśupati-Bhāṭṭārkas like Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. A comparative study of the Licchavi, Ābhīrean and Hunnic Inscriptions tends to show how the whole system of Dharma (Law) was being recast in the light of a well-developed science of social psychology in accordance with a scientific conception of human society as one developing organisation and in definite relationship to a system of moral and intellectual education propagated concurrently by the Śaiva-yogins, Vedic-patriarchs and Buddhistic Saugatas.

Plate No XXIII



This is the image of Vairocana (Śiva) bearing at its base the names of two Ābhīras known as Kuvera-gupta and Anika-gupta in northern Brāhmī script.

CHAPTER : XVI

Historical assessment of the Image of Dhum-vārāha and a few dated Images of the Fifth Century A. D. in Nepal's religious scheme of Bhairavi-cakra :

We have discussed the political conditions of Central Asia and Northern India with the rise of the Ābhīras and the Huṇas to power. These nomads were not barbarians and the faith that moved them was not idolatry or Shamianism but "Saddharma" (true law) based upon a well-developed science of social psychology that had its beginning in the Indus valley. The concept of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati is as old as the Indus valley culture. The conflict in the minds of the nomadic Kirāntas and the Indo-Aryans gave rise to the revolutionary Buddhas who defied the Vedic Revelations under the religious inspiration of the Solar dynasty of the Śākyas who had already accepted the Yakṣa cult of Isvara-deva or Śākyavardhana. With the passing of Śākyamuni, the Indo-Greeks and the Śakas reinterpreted the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph against the background of the Light Deities and Greek astronomy and recast the concept of Saṃbuddha and Saddharma in accordance with a scientific conception of human society as one developing organisation based upon Yogic system of social psychology. The impact of the cult of the Light Deities had its effect upon the Vedic Brāhmins who recast their Revelations of Viṣṇu in the new garb of the evolution of the Fish and the Tortoise Incarnations to which our sculptures and Inscriptions testify. Evidently, the evolutionary concept of the Fish and the Tortoise Incarnations were associated with the Brāhmannic myths that Viṣṇu assumed these forms in order to survey the depth of the ocean and then support the rod of Sumeru on its back so that the gods and demons (Asuras) may churn the ocean for creation. These simple myths, though they were conceived to defeat the cosmic theories of Buddha Kanakamuni and the Sāṃkhya-system of Kapilamuni, were not adequate to meet the challenge of the atheistical Saugatas. The Kauśīks had to come out with something more tangible and powerful than the myths of the Fish and the Tortoise. The third and the fourth Incarnations of the Almighty Viṣṇu as Man-boar and Man-

lion, judging from the basreliefs of Nepal, were conceived to defeat the atheistical theories of Hiranyākṣa and Hiranya-Kaśyapa who were no other than Buddhas Kanakamuni and Kaśyapa of Suvarṇabhūmi (Gold-country). Further to the myth of the Man-boar described in Chapter XV, it would be useful to interpret the image of Dhumvārāha and what it represents.

Our image of Dhumvārāha is housed in a small brick-temple presently overgrown with a wide-spreading Peepul tree upon a spacious lawn close to the village of Ciandul where our Department of Archaeology has uncovered exquisite images and potteries of our Licchavi period. About half a man in size, this robust statue nearly occupies the entire sanctuary of the temple. The style of the sculpture is similar to the style of the statue of Bala-bala (vulgo Balbal see Plate XVII) which, according to our chronology, was sculptured during the reign of king Bālārcanadeva when the principles and practices of the Saugatas were being attacked by the followers of Dvaipāyana. In fact, the Brāhmannic demons, such as Virūpākṣa, Hiranyākṣa, Hiranya-Kaśyapa and king Vali can be easily equated with Paśupati, Kanaka-muni, Buddha Kaśyapa and king Aśoka who defied the Vedic Revelations. In each case, these demons of Brāhmannic primordial age obtain the boon of immortality from Śiva to work their havocs, but they are defeated by the tricks of the Almighty Viṣṇu. It is said in the Purāṇas that teachings, rituals and sciences taught by these demons of the primordial age (Satya-yuga) with the blessings of Śiva have ceased to be effective for a humanity living in the epochs of Brāhmannic revival. The Paurāṇic pattern provides that the Earth feels oppressed by the heretical preachings of these demons and repairs to the abode of Viṣṇu accompanied by Indra and other Vedic gods with her burden of complaints, so that He conceives his own strategy to defeat the heretical Tathāgatas and Saugatas. The basrelief of Narasimha (Man-lion see Plate No. V) shows positively that its victim is a *Saugata*.

A comparative study of Dhumvārāha and Vārāha of Kathmandu and Udayagiri respectively :

The Dhumvārāha of Kathmandu has a semi-nimbus round its head and it wears a sacred thread and Vedic ornaments like bracelets, snake-like armlets and wristlets and also a loins-girdle under his waist. With his left

hand on hip to gather momentum, he lifts the earth-goddess over the elbow tip of his right hand grasping the Thunderbolt (Vajra) firmly within the fingers of its palm, where she sits in supplication with folded palms. The Five-headed Nāga holding the forward foot of Dhumvārāha seems to signify the five elements of the cosmic waters of the Netherworld and the limitations of the powers of Viṣṇu in the triple Universe made up, according to Ṛgveda (14, 42, 4), of the sky, atmosphere and earth in spite of his immensity of size. Very simple in conception and execution, the Dhumvārāha, as the first prototype of Zurvan in our country, anticipates the basreliefs of Narasimha (Man-lion) and the Vāmana (Midget) Incarnations of Viṣṇu till such time as the cult of holy Vāsudeva found synthesis with Buddhism in the image of Avalokiteśvara whom the Vedic Brāhmins appear to have recognised as the sixth Incarnation of Viṣṇu. A comparative study of our basreliefs and sculptures gives us, therefore, glimpses of the lost horizon of religion on the eve of the transition to Bhairavi-cakra.

Description of the Vārāha (Man-boar) of Udayagiri :

On the other hand, the pattern of the Man-boar of Udayagiri is similar to our basrelief of Vārāha presently housed in the temple of Śikhi-Nārāyaṇa. Instead of the sacred thread worn by Dhumvārāha, these Man-boars wear garlands, and the ornaments are much more complicated. In place of the loins-girdle of the original, these statues wear a Dhoti. Unlike the robust and stocky figures of Dhumvārāha and Bala-bala, the Man-boars of Udayagiri and Sikhi-Nārāyaṇa are stalwarts; and both have one arm on hip and another on their thigh which do not describe the idea of levitation. But like all the images and basreliefs of Nepal conceived in the scheme of the Jewel and the Lotus, the Great Mother Goddess sends up stems of Lotus which flowers into lotuses over the heads of these Man-boars. Historically this feature is connected with the characteristic revolution of Bhairavi-cakra which began in Nepal during the fifth century. However, the artists in India and Nepal at a later phase of development appear to have lost the idea of levitation, so that the Earth hanging helplessly down their tusks or the figures with folded palms over the heads of the Eleven-headed Ananta-nāga (Serpent of Eternity) can be interpreted only in the context of the texts of Taittiriya-saṃhitā and not Ṛgveda which

is believed to be composed outside of India. For, according to Taittiriya-saṃhitā (7.1.5.1.), "Prajāpati assumed the form of a Man-boar, and he plunged into the waters (of the Hades) and extracted as much mud as his mouth could hold. This was the Earth." According to the texts of Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (I. 1.3.5) "water, flood was all this in the beginning. Prajāpati was, therefore, tired (and said) 'How can this be ?' He saw a lotus-leaf swimming on the surface of the waters. He thought : 'This really is where it can stand.' He changed himself into a Boar, and plunged down. He licked the Earth, then having grasped her, he came back to the surface. Then he spread her on the Lotus-leaf. The wind tossed her here and there, and he fixed her with pebbles." We do not have in these later texts of Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas the original fire and drive of the impact of the thoughts of the historical Buddhas and Saugatas over the concept of Ṛgveda on creation.

In the Man-boar of Udayagiri, Viṣṇu is the Being (Puruṣa) who created the Earth (Prakṛiti) out of his own volition and spread her on the Lotus-flower and fixed her with pebbles. Here we do not find the concept of the sacred nuptial of the Earth and the Sky (Dvāva-pṛthvī), as it is being portrayed by the inverted cups of our dated sculptures and bas-reliefs of the fifth century A. D. Then, too, we do not find the impact of the legend of Hiraṇyākṣa on the Man-boar image of Udayagiri. These contradictions in the Vedic concepts of creation are irreconcilable even in the late texts of Atharvaveda and in the Gupta Inscriptions which do not so much as find a mention in Anuparāma's Eulogy to Dvaipāyana (vide Chapter XIV).

One of the characteristics of Nepalese scriptures, and monuments consists in their claim to offer a formulation of the traditional doctrines in transition with the different epochs and variability of human nature represented by the landmarks of the Saṃvatas (Eras) with the changing tide of Time. Notwithstanding the importance of the source materials of Indus-valley culture, the western scholars, when they assess Vedic Brāhmanism and Buddhism or any other religion of the East, seem to lose sight of the fact that the Śākyas of Kapilavastu worshipped the Yakṣa god Íśvara-deva or Strī-Íśvara or Śākyavardhana which already were developments from the ancient worship of the Great Mother Goddess and the shepherd God Paśupati. It was against such a religious background that Śākyamuni con-

ceived of his symbol of the Eight-spoked-wheel of Law. Judging from the devotion of the heretical Buddhas to the Yakṣa God Íśvaradeva, the Vedic Brāhmins discovered that Śaivism was emerging as the strongest factor in its support for Buddhism. The knowledge and the technique of the Śaiva-yogins and the historical Buddhas were better calculated to achieve the supreme goal of man through the practice of the ever-developing "Saddharma" (true law) than the conditioned Revelations of the Vedic Commandments and injunctions. As a subterfuge, the Vedic Kauśíkans imputed it to Íśvaradeva (Śiva) that he bestowed his boons indiscriminately to the believers and the unbelievers alike. As the powerful Indo-Greeks, Śakas and Pahlavas accepted the syncretism of all faiths in their theocrasia, the Kauśíks, too, had no alternative but accept Íśvaradeva as their god of gods and adapt their unscientific concept of creation on the line of the cosmic theory propounded by the historical Buddhas Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa and Kapilamuni. The Vedic Brāhmins tried to change the very content and context of the theory of evolution by fabricating the legends of the Fish, and the Tortoise, and by reviving the myth of the Man-boar on Ṛgvedic roots. But while the Gupta Inscriptions (of Damodar copper plate Inscriptions of the time of Buddha-gupta edited by R. G. Basak Ep. Ind XV and others) trace the origin of the cult to the White Man-boar of Vārāha-kṣetra situated at the confluence of the rivers Kokā and Kauśikī at the foot of the Himālayas in our district of Morang, the worship implied with the oblations of the Five Ambrosia (Pañca-gavya) seems to be out of line with the worship of Toramāṇa and *Jishnu-gupta*.¹¹⁷

The Śveta-vārāha-svāmi mentioned in the Gupta Inscriptions is, no doubt, the Man-boar of our Vārāhakṣetra. It is remarkable that a Tīrtha (sacred place of ablutions) known by the name of Kokā-mukhā is mentioned in the epic of Mahābhārata (Mbh, III, 84, 158; and XIII, 25, 52). In the eulogy to Durgā (Durgā-stotra) contained in the epic of Mahābhārata (VI, 8) the goddess Durgā-mahiṣamardini (the killer of the buffalo demon of Mortality) is called Kokā-mukhā as the Shaktī (activating authority and power) of Śiva. We have already stated elsewhere how the Brāhmannic saint Vaiśampāyana was the author of this eulogy and how his name is associated with Nepal's worship of "Kāraṇa-pūjā with the Five MS in our scheme of Bhairavi-cakra. The antiquity of the name of Kokā and the

association of the name with the cult of the Yakṣa god Śākyavardhana or Íśvaradeva or Strī-ísvara can be imagined from the occurrence of the name of the Yakṣī-goddess Chulla Kokā in the Inscription of Bhārbut.

A comparative study of the Licchavi sculptures and Inscriptions with the Inscriptions of Toramāṇa, Mihirakula and the Gupta kings of India show that Saṃbhu over the summits of the Himālayan mountains was being recognised as the Master of the Planets in the evolution of the concept of the Śveta-vārāha-kalpa (the White Boar Era) by the head of the transport organisation known as Ribhupāla who had founded the phallus known as Śveta-varāha-svāmi. Very much unlike the tradition of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭarakas of Nepal, this Liṅga (Phallus of Śiva) does not seem to be erected to commemorate the death of Ribhupāla. The two names Kokāmukha-svāmi and Śveta-vārāha-svāmi appear to refer to the Man-boar image and the Śiva-liṅga respectively of Vārāha-kṣetra situated at the confluence of the rivers Kokā and Kauśikī at the foot hills of the highest summits of the Himālayas. I have personally travelled through Vārāha-kṣetra to the district of Bhojpur and back through Dhankuṭā to learn that this region actually comprised the geographical division of the ancient Veṭha-dīpo at the foot hills of the Mahālangur ranges lorded over by *Sagar-māthā* (Mt. Everest).¹⁴⁸

The name Kokā for the rivulet which meets Kauśikī at this point to make it a Tīrtha (sacred place of ablutions) may mean a She-wolf which may be the early Indian interpretation of the Man-boar or by inversion to the rivulet by the bank of which the temple of the Man-boar was founded. On the other hand, the word Kokā also refers to Śiva or Viṣṇu or to a ruddy goose, cuckoo, frog or a lizard. The confusion of the Gupta Inscriptions of India can be resolved solely by the sculptures and Inscriptions of Nepal with reference to the Man-boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu which seems to have appealed to the Hunnic kings and the Gupta kings against entirely a different religious setting. If the Kauśik Brāhmins founded the baseless chronology of king Sagara and the like, they had also to find a baseless Era (Kalpa) in the name of Śveta-vārāha-svāmi in support of their claim. How else could they support Vedic Revelations? The whole picture of religious development of this period could be seen in proper perspective by a comparative study of the relative Inscriptions and sculptures.¹⁴⁹

I need not, perhaps, reiterate that thousands of years ago the Śaiva yogis and the historical Buddhas had discovered that the speed of human mind was faster than the speed of the Lightnings. This probe into the mysteries of the human mind has been progressively discovered among the materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture from Kapilavastu to Kathmandu. Among the vast multitude of materials at our disposal, I have selected a few representative inscriptions, symbols, coins dated images, basreliefs and manuscripts and reinterpreted the mysterious language of the confessio-fides, myths and legends, through the medium of which our remote ancestors have communicated their spiritual messages to us. I have also taken care within the bounds of my limited knowledge to describe our ancient heritage and our racial ties, not only with the Indus-valley Kirāntas and the Indo-Gangetic peoples but also with the early Assyrians (Asuras), Persians, Indo-Greeks, Tibeto-Burmese and Chinese peoples and how the early Yakṣas, Kirātas, Kinnaras, Śakyas, Kolīs, Licchavis, Śakas and Ābhīras adopted the foreign pattern or religious and social thinking to add to the sum total or their spiritual experience.

Thus we see that the Man-boar and the Man-lion are not isolated examples but a link in the long chain of religious development on Śaivitic roots handed down from the Indus-valley culture. These are solar deities in Nepal's religious scheme of the astropsychic scheme of Kāla-cakra with the impact of Greek astronomy on the concept of Zoroastrian Zurvan. Our basreliefs are executed under the religious impulse of the Jewel and the Lotus, and the rescue of the Earth-goddess by Dhumvārāha on the tip of his embracing elbow provides an example of paranormal levitation as they were being interpreted by the followers of the cult of Vajreśvara in Nepal's new scheme of Bhairavi-cakra. On the last analysis, Dhumvārāha is a Vajrayānic deity on the traditional line of Śiva Ravi-locana or Buddha Vairocana as Grahapati (Master of the Planets) with Mārīci-Vajra-Vārāhī (the Earth as the Goddess of Dawn) for its consort.

From a metaphysical point of view, the Divine Couple is a symbol of the two principal aspects of every cosmic principle. Here Śiva represents the unchangeable transcending and unchallengeable aspect while Pārvatī or Satī represents the will and the motive force for the active principles of our existence. The appearance of the Goddess of Dawn in the new

scheme of Bhairavi-cakra, apart from its popular and devotional forms, represents a barometrical sign of the transition in beliefs from the astro-psychic theory of Kāla-cakra to Māna Deva's new system of Bhairavi-cakra. This system totally breaks away from the formulations of the doctrines of the White-Boar-Era and their utilisation in general metaphysics of the four Yugas as it was being conceived by the Brāhmins of Gupta India. Nature is no longer an illusion (Māyā), but a Śhakti made up by the manifestation of her will. She is awake whether she manifests herself in rational and merciful or demoniacal, unchained, savage, elemental and irrational aspects. There are motives in the new conceptions of Bhairavi-cakra which can act as a mirror to the nightmares of modern civilisation in their most problematic forms. What other point of view could be more fascinating for the westerner's vocation than the one for which, according to De la Vallee Pousin, "the same Absolute Self ceases to be an aesthetic reality to become something that he, who has seen the light, can grasp and master?"

"In the adept, in the Siddha and in the Vīra" according to J. Evola the Tāntric Kaula exalt the individual who is superior to every couple of contraries, is free from both good and evil and whose law is only his will (svecchācārī), thus going much further than Nietzsche's "Superman". By following this road, the asceticism of a mortifying type is replaced by Hatha-yoga techniques which tend to rule the most inner forces of the body, together with a wisdom which proclaims, together with Kulārnavatantra: The body is the temple of God and the living conscience 'Jīva' is the eternal Śiva (Sadā-Śiva). The ritual Tāntric secret 'Pancatattava' proclaims the non-existence of the anti-thesis between asceticism and enjoyment, between Yoga (Discipline) and Bhoga (enjoyment). It promises the possession of the one and the other, pointing out that the place of liberation is in this world and not in the other one (Yoga bhojāte mokṣhyate saṃsāraḥ). The observance of moral rules as well as of visible rites is, in such circles, declared to pertain only to paśu, to the man bound, obtuse and resembling an animal, while Tāntrism promises the esoteric knowledge which makes one free and breaks all chains.

"On the basis of this, one might be tempted to speak of a 'modern' and even a "Western" Tāntrism. And yet in doing so a misunderstanding would certainly arise. Convergences are not of such a kind as to prejudice

Plate No. XXIV



The basrelief of Buddha Vairocana flanked by Bodhisattvas Sūrya-prabhā (Light of the sun) and Candra-prabhā (Light of the Moon) done on the line of the Casket of Kaniṣhka.

a fundamental difference in planes and tendencies. Only by acknowledging it, it would be possible to admit that Tāntrism may lead the way for a Western elite which does not want to become the victim of those experiences whereby an entire civilisation is on the verge of being submerged. "The values belonging to the highest spiritual realisation, such as the ancient Hindu metaphysical tradition conceived, are maintained. The actual problem of our age is to find the method to carry it into effect. This method, justly compared to the 'riding of a tiger,' may be summed up in this principle : 'In order to obtain freedom one must employ those same forces which have led to the downfall.' In the absence of historical datas and examples, J. Evola is unable to find the right way, and he bases himself on the conclusions of Sir John Woodruffe whom he considers to be greatest *authority on Tāntrism*.¹⁵⁰

Under the circumstances it may be useful for us to review the religious and social situations with reference to the Inscriptions and artifacts on the eve of the transition from Kāla-cakra to Bhairavi-cakra.

A consideration of the dated images of Nepal :

Judging from their artifacts, the Licchavis, the Ābhîras and the Huṇas appear to have viewed the past with a different set of values which are completely lost to the modern world. As we have made a comparative survey of the documents of the Śakas and the Kuṣhāṇas side by side with the corresponding Inscriptions of India and the scriptures of China, it is now easy for us to establish the art-historical position of the symbols, sculptures and bas-reliefs which have assumed a universal character. We have seen how the Vedic Kauśîks and the revolutionary Saugatas followed a progressively competitive trend in their religious and social discussions and how they employed competent artists to express their ideas through dated images and basreliefs. These artifacts have survived the ravages of time to give us their messages more eloquently than the Indian and the Chinese works which are coloured by local traditions and prejudices. Though the Śakas and the Yüe-chis were responsible for the proliferation of those mighty ideas, it was Kaṇiṣhka who visited Kapilavastu to reassess the religious situation and *start his Era*.¹⁵¹

The resulting conflict in the religious gnosis and practices can be clearly observed in the Inscriptions of the Indian kings. On the other hand, the

Chinese translated the "Sûtra in forty two sections", "The white Lotus sūtra of the true law" and "The Life of the Buddha Messia to come" by Lalita. We can very easily trace the sources of these books to the battered basreliefs of Śakyāmuni flanked by Koliyan Padmapāṇis (see Plate XXI) and to the Buddha Messia in the attitude of describing the future with a step (Plates XIII & XIV). We have already stated in Chapters VI and VII how the Chinese have attributed the translation of the White Lotus sūtra and the Lalita-vistara to Kāśyapa Mātang and Dharmarakṣa respectively. It is now possible for us to trace the origin of the so far unexplained Walking Buddhas of China to our Anāgata-Buddha of Lalitapur, who is in the attitude of describing the future with a step. Evidently the Walking Buddhas of China were sculptured by the Chinese artists on the basis of their translation of the text of Lalita-vistara as P'u yao-ching. Our basrelief showing the Buddha Messia in the act of taking a vow before Brahmā and Indra occurs on the western cardinal compass corner of a Stūpa situated in an obscure place between Konti-vahi and the temple of Kumbheśvara. The Buddha Messia is in the attitude known technically as "Bhaviṣya-vyākaraṇa-mudrā" which is an attitude of describing the future with a step (See Plate XIV). The ancient text of Lalita-vistara has it that the name of the place was "Anuvaineya" and the pilgrim had to cross the territories of the Śākyas, Kolis (Krodīya), Mallas and Maineyas to reach the Holy of Holies. The only other basrelief of this type occurs in an obscure niche of a stone Caitya within the quadrangle of the Northern Stūpa of the city of *Lalitapura*. Among the many interesting basreliefs and images displayed in this Prabhu-vihāra is a basrelief of Buddha Vairocana flanked by Bodhisattva Sūrya-prabha and Candraprabha on the line of the Casket of *Kanishka*.¹⁵² (See Plate XXIV).

The place names occurring in the Nepalese Inscriptions and Manuscripts are very reliable in helping us to identify these haloed spots, though foreign traditions appear to have associated the myths and names of the Himālayan holy places to their local mountains and places. The Tibetans remember this particular holy spot as M'cordten-rnam-dag. It is most remarkable that the ancient city of Lalitapura has preserved the most ancient Stūpas, stone Caityas, Buddhistic basreliefs of the historical Tathāgatas including Śakyāmuni, images of the forlorn Saugatas, Anāgata-Buddhas, Amitāhha, Mañju-

Plate No. XXV



The Bells in the Ears Professors of practical psychology known as the "GHANTĀKARNAS".

śhree, Mahāsthāma, Samantabhadra, Vairocana, all the Celestial Buddhas and Avalokiteśvara in chronological order. Against the background of the Brāhmannic revival, our Buddhistic Inscriptions and basreliefs reveal the crisis of religious conscience with Śaivism as the bridge between.

The primitive symbols of Śiva's phallus and ring-stones, when it absorbed the Yakṣa cults of Śākyavardhana and Virûpākṣa, appear to have given a new psychological dimension to the rational and scientific approach of the historical Buddhas whom the Vedic Brāhmins condemned as heretics. With the growing popularity of the Divine race theory propagated by the Vedic Brāhmins upon the free marriage customs of the Himālayan and the trans-Himālayan tribes, the deeply pathetic story of Satî and Śiva and the tragedy of king Dakṣa-prajāpati at the Vedic-altar appears to have vindicated the esoteric worship of the "Pîthas" which classified our mental conditions and regulated our will by the path of sensory perception and Yogic exercises in their own particular way. The Himālayan king-cobra that rears to sting the loving Satî to death after her demented dance in the presence of the drooping Śiva, consequent upon the rejection of his suit by his would-be father-in-law (Dakṣa-prajāpati) and also the basrelief depicting the judgment of Śiva, evoke the memory of the all too common human tragedy in our everyday drama of love engendered by the caste taboos and race-hatred (See Plate VIII). We can understand the drive and fire of the Yakṣa-cults in eradicating the sense of guilt in sex relations and the basic causes of crimes which have become the nightmares of modern advanced society. But as the psychological system of "Krama" by steady Yogic exercises develops with the esoteric worship of Kāraṇa-pujā in the Pîthas, there is an immediate revulsion in the primary consciousness of the person who follows the practice in the new scheme of Bhairavi-cakra. This new system, therefore, established a definite difference between the modern horizons of psychology and the practical aspects of Tāntrism which blazoned the paths of the Siddhas (Perfect ones) and Bells in the Ears Professors of practical psychology known as the *Ghaṇṭākarnas*.¹⁵³ (See Plate XXV).

Before the impact of the cults of Light Deities on Śaivism and Buddhism, the ancient world had accepted certain symbols to express their concept of Time and Triple space. As for examples, the Snake (Nāga) represented the concept of Time, the Inverted cups signified the nuptial of

the Earth and the Sky, the Gazelle or deer stood for man's longings for the good things of life, the adamantine Jewel or Thunderbolt and the Lotus stood for the Male and Female members. The syncretism of the Two-in-one was symbolised by the mystical syllable Om (ॐ) followed by the word Svasti with which our Licchavi Inscriptions as well as those of the Hunnic kings open. As the Yogic disciplines along this new line developed, the King-Cobra and the Thunderbolt, which represented Time and the conquest of the sense of Time respectively are used as the ornaments of Sthānu-Śiva whom the Licchavis, the Ābhīras and the Huṇas accepted as the basic articles of their worship (See Plates of Sthānu Śiva XXVI).

We find the growing influence of the new system of Bhairavi-cakra where Vajreśvara assumes the principal role as the Death of Deaths. This is a development from the Yogācāra doctrines of Kāla-cakra where the Śaivitic counterpart of Shaktī becomes one with Śiva as Ekajaṭā or Ardha-nārīśvara (Two-in one). This aspect of the Two-in-one is completely missing in the modern views of western activism. Here the Puruṣa (the Male principle) and Prakṛiti (Nature) possess the gift of light and existence where Śiva wears the Thunderbolt (Vajra) as his ear-pendant as the most active principle of lightning. The West has discussed the Shaktic element in its lowest, irrational and materialistic aspect to understand the true spiritual virility of the concept of Vajreśvara which is closely connected with the dynamism of human tendencies, sciences and values. The West has taken it as abstract speculation whereas the Licchavis, the Ābhīras and the Huṇas appear to have accepted the values of Paśupati or Sthānu-Śiva as a realisation. It was this realisation that made Attila or Mihirakula so fearless and ruthless in their adventures as individuals without the paranoiac and xenophobic acts based upon the cult of personality, who dissolved with the peoples they conquered. The strangest phenomenon in human history is the undeniable fact that the nomadic Huṇas and the Ābhīras founded the largest of Empires bound in fraternal bonds known to mankind under the spiritual impulse of *Sthānu-Śiva and Mañju-śrī*.¹⁵⁴

And because Nepal has preserved the legends and monuments of the Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Kirātas, Śākyas, Kolīs, Licchavis and Ābhīras, it is possible for us to explain the eroticism in Nepalese art which the West has condemned a profanities. The concept of Shakti in its nude, bondless and

Plate No XXVI



The stump of Sthāṇu-Śiva known as Dhārā-Māneśvara to whom the celebrated Nepalese poet Bhāravi has dedicated a water-conduit with his inscription dated 551 A. D. to commemorate the achievement of his grandfather Māna Deva I.

destructive forms have such a nature as to be simultaneously the deities of pure transcendence and internal liberation. They are above the bonds of Dharma (Law), but without their Shaktic counterparts, Śiva would become a Śava which, in modern scientific terminology, would be a dead heap of organic entity. The Śaiva yogins appear to have discovered very early in history that life was full of contradictions, but that poles trembled for contact by their mutual attraction and love. The god of love (Madana) was the foundation of human society and it was impossible to reject him whether in life or on our death. There were no two ideas among the Śaiva-yogins and the Buddhistic protagonists of the Yogācāra doctrines that the Jewel and the Lotus of our real and sensory existence could find its highest realisation in the Śiva-liṅga as Maheśvara (God of gods) after our demise. The commemorative inscriptions around the phalluses of Śiva dedicated to the memory of king Māna Deva or Anuparama-gupta and their contemporaries bear testimony to the fact that they survived on the basis of these human values and died in this faith irrespective of caste, creed and colour.

Thus we see that, if the revolutionary Buddhas gave the greatest altitude and width to human landscapes and visions, the Śaiva-yogins imparted the deepest insight into human passions, which gathered fresh momentum when it broke away from the rigid religious, political and social isolation imposed by the Vedic Brāhmins. In and amid the collision-collusion of the Himālayan and trans-Himālayan peoples, the historical Buddhas had succeeded in breaking down the barrier of Vedic Revelations based upon unfounded concepts of Heaven and Hell and upon their history of kings without examples. But because the Vedic Brāhmins had composed the history of the solar and the lunar races without historical examples and parallels, it was still possible for them to impose such beliefs upon the credulity and vanity of the fighting castes who had the Almighty Viṣṇu for their ancestral worship.

It is now clear as brook that, although the esoteric worship of the Licchavi Kings and Ābhīras of Nepal was Maheśvara after Íśvaradeva or Śākyavardhana, yet they seem to have recognized Viṣṇu, Hari or Vāsudeva as their ancestral god. With the impact of the cult of the Light Deities on the Kauśiks, they appear to have taken advantage of the symbols of the Jewel and the Lotus to back the Vedic Revelations at the expense of the

rational paths prescribed by the Saugatas. Unlike the Śaivite and the Buddhistic Tāntrics, the Brāhmannic priests believed in the theory of reincarnation to the rejection of the Tāntric theory that every human person was the temple of God, round which our religious, social, political, philosophical, psychological and rational lucubrations revolved. In this connection, the sacrificial tendency of Kāraṇapūjā associated with the traditional worship of Īśvara-deva or Strī-īśvara is the real transforming factor in the concept of the Universe as Power. It is not just the glorification of human person or the training of pure will-power in order to become a superman. If we consider the basreliefs of Man-boar and Man-lion as the third and the fourth Incarnations of the Almighty Viṣṇu seriously, their spasmodic appearances in order to put an end to the lives of Hiranyakṣa and Hiranya-kaśyapa, who represented rationality in the Brāhmannic Golden Age, give us an idea of the limitations of the Vedic Revelations which ultimately lead us to a blind alley. This drift from the Nirvāṇa, Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa millennias had resulted in the conundrums of the Man-boar and Man-lion, which king Māna Deva, like the modern positivists, appears to have defined as the Era of Obscurantism and Darkness. The Kauśikan adherents of the doctrines of Dvaipāyana had relentlessly attacked the rational Saugatas, so that Anuparama could produce nothing better than an eulogy to the saint's memory inspite of his best efforts.

Nepal does not seem to have doubted the good faith and intentions of the Ābhīras who had brought their concept of the Man-boar and Man-lion from their far away home along with new bronze-casting techniques of the Ābhīrian goldsmiths who embellished our images. But wealth and power had their own logic; and the political power of the Hunas under the religious inspiration of the Gomīs (Ābhīras) had become so great that it was getting more and more difficult to resist their logic. This logic that led the Hunnic kings Attila, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula to exercise their will and power for world domination under the inspiration of the cults of Mañju-Śhree and Man-boar was found to be contrary to the philosophy of Saddharma (true law) by the Paśupati-bhaṭṭārakas, so that king Māna Deva's basrelief of the Midget in Three Incomprehensible Vedic steps (see Chapter V) was a signpost to guide and warning to heed as much from the precepts of the Eight-spoked-wheel of Law as from the perilous drift

of the Man-boar and the Man-lion, as both lacked the drive and fire of the psychological path of sensory perception prescribed by the images of Sthāṇu-Śiva. In order to arrest the dangerous drift propagated by the followers of the doctrines of Mañju-śhree, Man-boar and Man-lion, the Nepalese religious leaders of the fifth century appear to have emerged with the images of Avalokiteśvara as the Sixth Incarnation of Viṣṇu. A large number of basreliefs of Avalokiteśvara are now represented frontally in the "Samapada" (leg together) attitude of immobility flanked by Śhree (the Great Mother Goddess) and Vasumatī (the Aryan Earth Goddess) as Vitārāgas (Dispassions) who, nevertheless, seed lotus stems over their arms which flowers into an adamant jewel over the outstretched palm of this deity. All the figures of such basreliefs stand upon Lotus pedestals while the icons of Śākyamuni or Amitābha (the Buddha of Infinite Light and Life) or Anāgata-Buddha (the Buddha Messiah to deliver mankind known commonly as the Walking Buddhas) occupy the centres of the crowns of such Avalokiteśvaras according to the faith of the donors. The popularity of this cult in the fifth century can be imagined from the occurrence of a large number of images of Avalokiteśvara practically in every ancient Vihāras traced in some cases with *Licchavi scripts*.¹⁵⁵ Then, too, we have published Dharmajīva's basrelief of Avalokiteśa dated on the 180th year of Māna Deva's Era in the previous chapter which will speak for itself. It is remarkable that the Nepalese people absorbed the Vedic god Viṣṇu in their scheme of Kāraṇapūjā by the simple act of investing Avalokiteśvara with the sacred thread of the Twice-born (Dvija).

Thus we see that the cults and doctrines of Iśvaradeva and Strī-īśvara, gathering variations from the cosmic theories of the historical Buddhas as a revolt against the Vedic Revelations, had been enriched by the cult of the Light Deities from Persia and Greece, and had, in the intervening thousand years of Śākyamuni's demise, developed into the cult of Sthāṇu-śiva as a bridge of compromise between the Ābhīras and the Saugatas. If the Saugatas preserved much of the moral beauty and sublimity of the teachings of Śākyamuni in the basreliefs of Avalokiteśvara, the Vedic Brāhmins equally bowed down to Vajreśvara as the Deliverer. Many people, who have no intellectual grasp upon the meaning of "Salilanidhana" or "Anādinidhana," have, nevertheless, the ability to appreciate the beauty, sublimity and reality

of the images of Vajreśvara and Avalokiteśvara. At the start every religion has produced the purest and the noblest of teachers, but it is not through reason alone that the latent response to nobility is aroused in our minds. These doctrines spread not because they were rational but because they had the adaptability and capacity to develop and grow amid the collision and collusion of different races on the basis of "Saddharma" (true law) which was universal in its scope and appeal.

On the validity of the transition from the astro-psyche theory of Kāla-cakra to the principles and practices of Bhairavi-cakra by reference to the Nepalese images dated during the second half of the Fifth-century A. D. :

We have adequately discussed in previous chapters how the transition from Dharma-cakra (Eight-spoked-wheel of Law) to the astropsychic theory of Death, and from Kāla-cakra to Bhairavi-cakra was the result of more than one millennium of spiritual development with the basic impact of the Yakṣa-cult of Śākyavardhana upon the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. During the intervening period, the Buddhist synods, Aśoka, Menander, the Śakas and Kaṇishka had played their roles for a better understanding of the concept of Dharma (Law). In the resulting theocracies, where different religious schools continued concurrently in competition, the sectarians had enlightened peoples or led them astray. Some of them had strengthened peace among mankind while others precipitated wars. Some of the people, who professed to be Saints and claimed to search for truth, encouraged their disciples to find a thousand way of lying. Worst of all the dogmatic sectarians founded false eras and made deliberate inventions, omissions and fabrications in order to give a wrong drift to the religious and social impulses and rational thought movements of the awakened Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Kirāntas, Śakyas, Kolis and other peoples of diverse origin who claimed Suvarṇagotra (gold-race origin).

If the rational historical Buddhas, with their emphasis on the objective observation of Nature, revolted against the Vedic Commandments, the adherents of the Yakṣa cult of Śākyavardhana further absorbed the story of Virūpākṣa and Hū-ṣā as the primordial factor in creating "Virūpākṣa-kāma-jaṭīlatā" or in other words Virūpākṣa sex complex as the root cause of our original sin. The Śaiya Yogins made a renewed attack upon this

weakness and sin complex inherent in human nature by harking back to the psychological impulses engendered by the symbolical phallus of Paśupati and female member of the Great Mother Goddess in order to eradicate the sense of sin from our guilty memory. The Vedic Revelations and the Paurāṇic fabrications as well as the Buddhistic logic and reason had alike led to the blind alley of devotion or atheism which lost sight of the spiritual goal. If atheism is destructive of human values and if devotion is the highest form of human emotions, the dishonest intellectuals in all ages and of all climes, for their own selfish aims and ends, have played upon the psychic faculties of their faithfuls, so that the credulous common people have fanatically followed their dogmas and frantically died in the heat of their impulses without seeing their goal of salvation. What is the **ULTIMATE BEST** in the direction of human affairs? How could men conquer the psychosis of Death? What was the Third Eye of Śiva?

From our overall survey of the religious monuments, Inscriptions and images of the various creeds, we are now in a position to say how the basic spiritual value developed amid the collision-collusion of the proto-Aryan and Indo-Aryan religious beliefs along the cross-roads of Asia. Indeed, there were tendencies among the acolytes to mislead the faithfuls of the rival creeds, but because the centre was very well-established in the Himālayan homes of the historical Buddhas, the main religious current flowed on with the tide of the Indo-Greeks the Śakas and the Kushāṇas after Aśoka the Great. If the Buddhistic rationality with its emphasis on science and logic led on to the insatiable longings for the good things of life, then paradoxically, the Vedic revival under the borrowed feathers of the Jewel and the Lotus yielded visions of Viṣṇu's savage incarnations as the Man-boar and the Man-lion who performed the miracle of destroying the spirit of scientific enquiry, logic and reason heralded by the atheistical Buddhas Kanakamuni (Hiraṇyākṣa) and Kaśyapa (Hiraṇya-Kaśyapa) despite their "Syntopicon" of Great Ideas. It was being painfully realised in the fifth century that the Buddhistic paths prescribed by the atheistical Saugatas and the Vedic Smṛtis based upon the morals of Dvaipāyana's epic of Bhārata had reached a dilemma, because both could not probe into the dimension in depth of our guilty memory of "Salilanidhana" in their quest

for the goal of "Anādinidhana" which was the state of Timelessness beyond the pall of Death.

The conquest of the psychosis of Death through the Third Eye of Inner Illumination :

We have discussed in Chapter VI how the foundation of our civilisation was built over the ashes of Moheñjodāro. But unlike the Chinese and the Egyptians who have turned their land into a vast necropolis, our religious leaders appear to have associated the biological force of sex and the mystery of Death with the worship of "Kāraṇa-pūjā" by the Five Ms granted to every man and based on the Third Eye of Śiva. They seem to be aware that the religious thinkers of other parts of the world had sculptured the statues of Sphinxes, Hades, Cerberuses, Mithras and the Sun-god Bel in order to conjure up the vision and cope with the dreadful and perplexing fact of death. European philosophers as far apart as Socrates and Karl Jaspers have held that the essence of philosophy is preparation for Death. The Vedic Brāhmins and the Greeks had opened Pandora's boxes telling about the pleasures of the Paradise and of the punishments in the purgatory because the Dead men told no tales. Then, too, they had created rockets of the sun-bird Garuḍa, Pegasus and Vimānas (air-vehicles of the gods), so that the gods of their fancy may rise above the conjunctions of the Planets to the workshop of God where Death did not occur. But the growing astronomical knowledge as to the infinity of Time and the immensity of space defeated their idea of Immortality. Purely from our religious point of view, the Kauśiks appear to have borrowed their Arya and Sūrya-siddhāntas of astronomy from the Babylonian Anahita-Cybele prostitution cult of all the Heavenly bodies or from the Roman-Iranian cult of the Mithras in its association of Sol Invictus, so that the followers of the cults of Man-boar and Man-lion seem to be trying to give a wrong drift to the psychological concept of the Jewel and the Lotus in Nepal's scheme of the Third Eye. We have already pointed out how the Kauśiks had saturated their concepts of Vārāha and Narasiṃha Incarnations of Viṣṇu with the primitive concept of Zurvan adopted by the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian folk during their decadent period. But our Śaṅgatas and Yogins condemned such religious concepts as deceptions and imposed their

limitations on these savage-incarnations with the new theory of the Goddess of Dawn. The Śaiva-yogins and Saugatās had discovered very early that God was attainable here and now through the esoteric pursuit of sensory perception rather than through the amorous actions of the distant Heavenly Bodies. In such a context, the basreliefs of the Man-boar and Man-lion made cowards of us by engendering the fear of Death rather than vanquish its psychosis. In spite of the best efforts of Professors Umāsoma, Vārāhasvāmi and Ācāryabhagavat Pranarddanāprāṇa Kauśik, the Nepalese calendar of the Licchavi period does not make use of the Week days founded in the names of the amorous Heavenly bodies. On the other hand, our Inscription clearly shows that the Dharma (Law) of Vārāhasvāmi formed part of the esoteric worship propagated by the order of Muṇḍaśṛṅkhalika under the direction of Pāsupatācāryas (Professors of practical *psychology*).¹⁵⁶

The spiritual significance of the icon of Vajreśvara occurring on the southern cardinal compass corner of the stump of Sthānu-Śiva whom the Hunnic kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula worshipped :

Unlike the prehistoric inhabitants of Moheñjodāro, for whom life seemed alive and death an unthinkable anomaly, the situation was reversed with the appearance of the historical Buddhas who proved that life was a brief flash amid dead matter in the inter-stellar dark which destroyed the power of the Vedic faith to confront death. Beyond the doubts of the revolutionary Buddhas, and on a plane of thought beyond either denial and confirmation by logic and science, the Śaiva-yogins brought the concept of the conquest of Death on our side of the grave and not a flight to the Great Beyond. Thus we see that in Nepal's quest of the Third Eye, there were limits as much to the rationality and scientific approach of the historical Buddhas to the mental problems of our existence, as to the Vedic balloons of the Kauśiks who believed that their Revelations and Commandments were the fountains of human laws. It was increasingly realised that the concept of Time, Space, Matter and Motion was a "Māyā" (a dream or illusion) in God's manifestation of a quantitative and a material world of appearances, by the sight of which we may be either enlightened or deluded according to the degree of our maturity. High upon the vault of our

brain there was the Brahmahrandhra (the most active and sensitive cells of the grey matter), where our perceptions, sensations, recollections and memories wove their own rainbows and stained the "White Ray of Eternity." If properly regulated by Yogic disciplines, the "Brahmahrandhra" was the only source through which the individual could create his own rainbow of vision to transcend the bounds of Time and Space.

There have been examples where Socrates died without regrets by drinking a cup of hemlock, while Lord Jesus felt the agony of the Crucifix with his deep human cry for desertion and loneliness, which has survived to wipe out the guilt lurking in our consciousness, and salvage mankind. In our own time the Mahāyānist monks and nuns have soaked themselves in kerosene or gasolene and burned themselves to death in the name of their religion in Saigaon, while the peace-churchmen have exhibited their immolation to prove that they had lived up to Christ's injunctions.

The mnemonics of the sense of Sin, Destiny and Death have been the subjects of the tragic flaws in the Aeschylean tragedy of Oedipus and Jocasta and of all the Shakespearian tragedies, where Heavens themselves are hoarse over the murders or suicides of their heroes and heroines while the soldiers of God are killed like flies. The Time and Newsweek (November 12, 1965 and October 3, 1966 respectively) published grim stories of Self-immolation and of American nightmare in their columns on Religion and Crime. In the former case, Norman Morrison, 31, his clothing doused in kerosene and his youngest child, 18 months old Emily cradled in his arms, stood outside the river entrance to the Pentagon and burned himself to death. Fortunately, the army officers, who had seen the Mahāyānists incinerate themselves on the streets of Saigon, grabbed the innocent child away from the flames, while Morrison died protesting against his Government's deep involvement in Vietnam. On the other hand, the brutal and seemingly senseless murder of Miss Valerie Percy at the gathering crest of her career by an unknown murderer while she was asleep,—present a sad contrast to Morrison's psychosis of suicide which Bertrand Russell and Karl Marx would find it impossible to explain by their sweeping description of religion as 'the opium of people.' These incidents of life are much more complex than the air, sea and land disasters which are ordinarily attributed to mechanical failures. If the atheists of modern

world have introduced the thermonuclear era, their political ideas have generated mass hysteria and engendered the psychosis of mass-annihilation where individuals do not count.

Judging from the Inscriptions of the Licchavis, the Ābhīras and the Huṇas, it appears to me that the fifth century A. D. was much more dynamic spiritually than the age we live in amid conflicting ideologies which are full of sound and fury and signify nothing for the individual human person as "The temple of God." How could man progress constantly to higher level of spiritual attainment on to the goal of "Anādinidhana" (state of Timelessness) beyond the pall of death? We can explain what the era of Bhairavi-cakra means to modern civilisation only when we are able to interpret the spiritual significance of the images and basreliefs dated in the scheme of Māna Deva's Era. More because all these dated images are inscribed with prayers, like Anuparama's eulogy of Dvaipāyana or Māna Deva's criticism of the Incarnation of Viṣṇu as the Midget in Three Vedic Steps, which tell us what spiritual motives inspired them. At the outset, I give a free translation of the prayer dedicated to the icon of Vajreśvara which give us the reaction of Pāśupatācāryas (Professors of practical psychology) to Anuparama's predilection to the cult of the holy Vāsudeva vis-a-vis the atheistical Saugatas as follows :

"All animate and inanimate manifestations including the androgenous Brahmā, who are bound in bonds of craving, ignorance and gravitation and subject to decimation and death in the scale of Time, can be categorised as the mortal and brutal creations of God. Victory to the immortal spirit of Paśupati (the Master of the Gazelle and Virūpākṣa or Oedipus complex), who, as the storm god Rudra and the Lord of Lightnings and Thunderbolts, is the holder of the eternal libation of life and deliverer from the dread of damnation as the Death of deaths."

This prayer is generally dedicated to the image of Vajreśvara who is acknowledged to be principal deity in the scheme of the cults of Vajrayāna or Sahajayāna. It is interesting to note that such a stump of Sthānu-Śiva, with the icon of Vajreśvara on the southern cardinal compass corner as the Death of deaths, occurs within the compound enclosing the temple of Vāsudeva before Anuparama's pilaster of Harigāon. We have discovered a number of Buddhistic icons in the same area which give us an idea of the

faith professed by the Saugatas whom Anuparama condemns as heretical and dialectical theologians. Judging from the Inscription of Bhāravi dedicating a water-conduit to the memory of his grandfather king Māna Deva dated Samvat 472 (551 A. D.), I have no doubt that the stump of Sthāṇu-Śiva within the enclosure of the temple of Vāsudeva before the pilaster of Harigāon is the same icon mentioned by Aṃśuvarman as Dhāra-Māneśvara (N. I. XXXVI *lines* 12-13).¹⁵⁷ This water-conduit is still extant which proves that the image of Dhāra-Māneśvara was set up by king Māna Deva I as a reply to Anuparama's Inscription dedicated to the worship of Vāsudeva. It is equally remarkable that Aṃśuvarman gives the palm of victory to Paśupati in his warrant of precedence of the Vedic and the Buddhistic deities of his period. Conceived in the traditional religious Scheme of a Vyūha (fortress) this stump of Dhāra-Māneśvara (Sthāṇu-Śiva) has four faces on the four cardinal compass corners as their rulers known technically as Dikpālas calculated to express the syncretism of the complex religious situation of the fifth century. The Nepalese artist, as the relative plates would testify, has expressed the beauty and sublimity of the concept of "Yuganaddha" (Two-in-one) by carving an icon of Ēka-jatā (Strī-īśvara or Ardhanārīśvara) on the northern cardinal compass corner as a factor in conquering our guilty sense of Schizophrenia. Similarly the ichtheological concept of Viṣṇu's first Incarnation as fish has been combined with the cult of Indra to evolve the most popular deity known as Matsyendra in our scheme of Māhāyāna Buddhism as a development of the concept of the Ati or Mahā Kāruṇika on the eastern cardinal compass-corner. The nude Virūpākṣa is now crowned with the sun-bedecked crown of Śiva-ravi-locana on the Western cardinal compass corner, so that he now emerges with his new gnosis as Grahapati (Master of the Planets). Finally the icon of Vajreśvara as the Master of the Lightnings and Thunderbolts is endowed with all the symbols of Death as Ghorāghorā (the cruelties in the Scheme of Time and the State of Timelessness) on the southern cardinal compass corner, so that men may get rid of the dread of death and become Timeless on our side of the grave. This composite concept of Sthāṇu-Śiva seems to be executed with great precision and detail with a view to reeducate human beings in the development of real spiritual values and restore the equilibrium between the purely devotional aspects

of Vedic Brāhmannism and the rational aspects of Buddhism by the psychological approach immanent in the ancient cult of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati to the religious and social problems of the fifth century. (See Plate XXVI).

Thus we see that the one reality, according to our Pāsupatācāryas, was the pall of the all-consuming Death that shrouded the visible manifestations of Nature who was as much a source of energy (Shakti) as she was to the same extent an illusion (Māyā). This vital distinction of Nature as the source of energy and power, and Nature as an illusion had to be visualised, sculptured and presented to the world of common men for their education and understanding. We have already pointed out how the Nirvāṇa, Śaka, Kuṣhāṇa and Māna Deva Eras represent a revolutionary change in the mental outlook of men which went on gathering momentum and widening human vision. And because Nepal has been able to preserve the Śaivite, Vedic and Buddhistic monuments intact, we can follow the educative processes of different ages in the sacred art of Nepal. It is remarkable that the ancient kings of Nepal, unlike their counterparts in other countries of the world, have not left behind "storied urns or animated busts" to commemorate themselves or their deeds. The unique feature of the sacred arts of Nepal lies in the fact that the ancient patriarchs and kings have left behind the monuments of their faith which provide the links in the chain of the lost horizon of religion.

We have made a comparative study of the vast number of the images of Sthāṇu-Śiva sculptured at different periods of our history to notice slight modifications in the execution of the details in each of them; so that there was, indeed, a long period of discussion and criticism among the faithfuls of the faith before they finally decided to execute this particular icon of Vajreśvara as the Death of deaths. To the ancients the fastest visual object of energy and power was the flash of Lightning which produced the Thunderbolt from the blue. But the Professors of practical psychology conceived that faster than Lightning was the speed of human mind. The "Vajra" in the hands of Hiraṇya-Kaśyapa is not the sword or axe of the Hades, but the "Syntopicon" of knowledge with which he hits back the blind and brutal power of Nara-simha (Man-lion) (See plate V). The conflict in the minds of the heretical and dialectical Saugatas and the Vedic

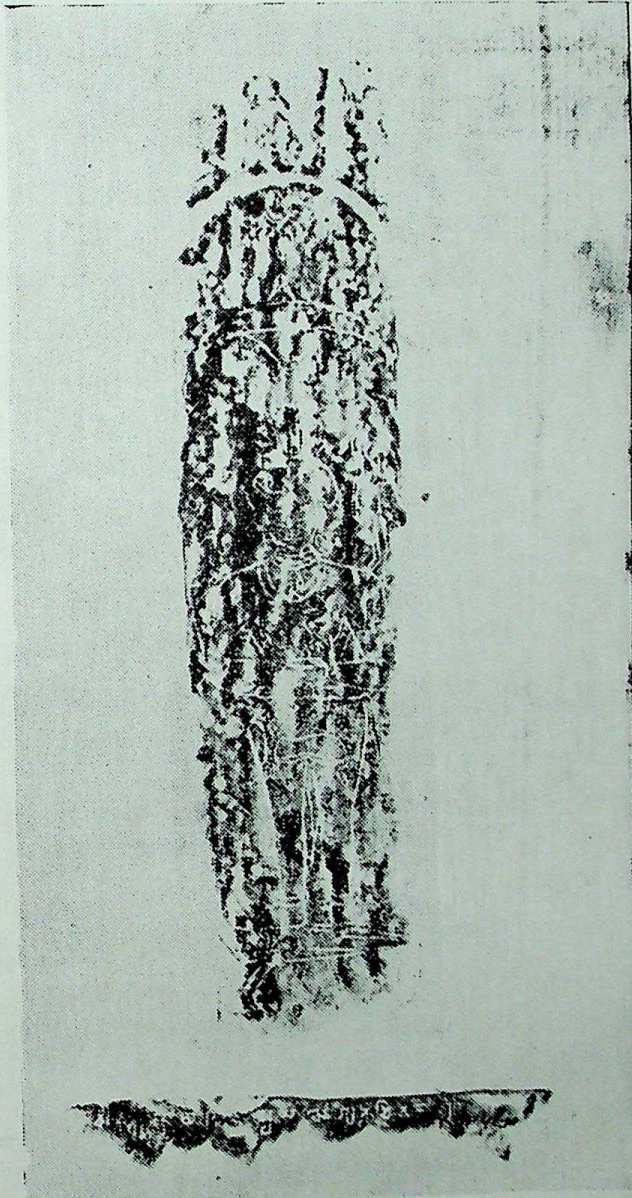
patriarchs is very well reflected in this bas-relief. Against such a religious background Māna Deva's bas-relief of the Midget in 'Three Incomprehensible Vedic Steps (vide Chapter V, Plate XI) serves as a warning where the icons of Dharā-māneśvara provide the psychological guide-lights of "Saddharma" on a benighted world.

We have already pointed out in Chapter XIV how the wornout image of Vāsudeva before Anuparama's eulogy of Dvaipāyana represents a very ancient worship of the principal Vedic Divinity known as Viṣṇu. It was, perhaps, to an identical image of Vāsudeva in Besnagar (Gwalior State, Central India) that the Indo-Greek Ambassador Heliodorus had dedicated an image of the sun-bird Garuḍa way back in the first century B. C. A great deal of patient and comparative study is needed to reconstruct the parade of sculptures and reliefs before it is possible for us to assess the real spiritual significance of the icon of Vajreśvara. The prayer dedicated to the Vajreśvara-aspect of Paśupati in the Vyūha-scheme of Sthānu-Śiva represents a refutation of Anuparama's eulogium to Dvaipāyana where we find an attempt to change the very concept and context of "Saddharma" (true law) as spasmodic Revelations based upon the Three Vedas rather than as a historical development from Dharma-cakra (eight-spoked wheel of law). It is remarkable that the Buddhistic school of Vajra-yāna follows as a practical sequel to this concept Vajreśvara in king Māna Deva's scheme of Bhairavi-cakra. It may be useful at this stage to take up and consider the images and basreliefs dated in Māna Deva's Era.

The relief of Urdhakeśa Bhairava dated Samvat 399 (477 A. D.) :

This interesting relief (see Plate XXVII) occurs in the forecourt of the temple of Tuṇḍāl-devī whose foundation is dated Samvat 399 (477 A. D.) month of Jayaiṣṭha (May-June)—second day of lunation. The period seems to synchronise with the dramatic episode of Māna Deva and Dhruvasvāminī. Judging from the discovery of coloured potteries and images in the sprawling village of Ciandul (vulgo Caṇḍol) with the temples of Tuṇḍāl-devī and Dhum-vārāha (Man-boar), the area appears to be important during the Licchavi period of our history. The divinity represented in our relief is known technically as "Urdhakeśa Bhairava" robed in the typically Kirānti-costume of a tiger-skin loin-girdle (Kacchāra)

Plate No. XXVII



This is one of the earliest reliefs of Urdhvakeśa Bhairava before the temple of Tuṇḍāl-devī dated Saṃvat 399 (477 A.D.). This divinity seems to be created in Māna Deva's scheme of Bhairavi-cakra because of his capacity of making uncanny sound which is described by Bhāravi as "VIRĀBA".

after the style of Śiva-kṛttivāsa, and like its source model the figure has two hands. This figure has a round face over a short conch-shell like neck, which resembles the feature of Buddha Vairocana in Lungmen (China). It wears a three-petalled crown like other images of the period, and the hair-raising at the back of its crown is indicative of the spiritual reawakening, which accounts for its peculiar name of "Urdhakeśa-Bhairava." The looming figure of Death taking a step towards this figure beyond its left shoulder is a skeletal Kañkāli, who seems to represent Prakṛti (Nature) as Māyā (Illusion). The Snake of Time wreathes its breast and it holds the "Inverted Cups" of the Earth and Sky close to its heart in the characteristic attitude of Bhairavi-cakra. It wears a short "Kike" (ancient version of Kukri such as the Gorkhā wears even today as his weapon of battle-readiness) on its hip-belt, which holds together the tiger-skin waist-girdle hanging down with its head and paws complete with claws around his thigh as far as his knees. The style of dress, as already stated, is characteristic of the costume of the Kirāntas and their divinity known as Śiva-kṛttivāsa (Śiva in the leathery habiliment complete with hair of a Kirānta). This figure of Urdhakeśa Bhairava is frontally represented and its two legs stand together under the ancient canon of "Samapada" (legs together) immobility over the corpse (Salilanidhana) of what is known as Vetāla (the Spirit or Ghost of the Crematorium or the Grave). But unlike the image of Vajreśvara, this relief of Urdhakeśa-Bhairava has the candle of seance over its crown rather than the icons of Śiva-ravi-locana, Vairocana, Akṣyovya, Amitābha or Anāgata-Buddha to light its path beyond the pall of Death.

Thus we see that this relief of Urdhakeśa Bhairava gives us the results of that deification of particular moments, events, situations, special hair-raising and vocal aspects of Bhairava, upon which the dogmatics of the Śaivite, the Vedic and the Buddhistic schools seem to be insisting at this phase of religious development in the fifth century. I had the feeling, when I saw this relief for the first time, that it rejected the theories of spiritual progress from the sure steps of the Walking Buddhas or wild and powerful steps of the Man-boar and the Midget in Three Vedic Steps who had to move down with Hiraṇyākṣa (the golden-eyed demon of the Gold-country) or with king Vali and live with them in the Nether-world. This means that the Brāhmannic concepts of the Man-boar and Man-lion, as the Third

and the Fourth Incarnations of the Almighty Viṣṇu, have been defeated in the scale of Time and Space.

The lone Pīṭha of Tuṇḍāl-devī, with this relief of Urdhakeśa-Bhairava, has preserved its human aspects in that our Bells in the Ears Professors of Practical psychology (Pāsupatācāryas) known as the Poḍeys survive with us in full exercise of the psychic powers of the Five Ms provided by Kāraṇa-pujā, and presides over the festival of Viṣṇu-devī as the goddess of dawn (Mārici-vajra-vārāhī) in the capacity of a living and breathing representative of the deity as much as to be free from the sense of sin and guilty memory to our own day. It is in this biological sense of our race that the Pāsupatācārya (Poḍey) attains immortality. The supreme spiritual achievement, henceforth, is no longer dialectical discussions of super-knowledges and perfections of wisdom at their summit, but the development of the physical and mental vigour on the five bases of psychic power in our day to day existence, so that the lowliest among us may emancipate themselves by the disciplines prescribed by Kāraṇa-pujā to deserve our worship on this *side of our grave*.¹⁵⁸

The image of Indronāma-divākara (the Sun of Spiritual Power under the name of Indra) :

Three mystical years glide by in this deeply religious fifth century, when another landmark is being created in the heart of Kathmandu in order to herald the dawn of the system of Bhairavi-cakra during the reign of King Māna Deva I. As the name of the deity testifies, this 3½ (three half) feet statue of the Sun of spiritual power under the name of Indra (the Vedic king of three hundred and thirty three million gods) seems to be yet another landmark, after the Midget in Three Incomprehensible Vedic Steps, set up in the new scheme of Bhairavi-cakra by Guha-mitra, whose cognomen indicates that he is familiar with the cult of Mithras. This statue is dated Saṃvat 402 (480 A.D.) on the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Āṣhāḍha (June-July).¹⁵⁹ This is a thick-set figure with an out-of-this-world cast of countenance, which the will of man does not succeed in working a modification. (See Plate No. XXVIII . . .). Modelled upon the concept of Vajreśvara, which wears human skull on its lock of hair matted over by a braid of the Himālayan king cobra, this eerie image wears a crown

Plate No. XXVIII



This statue of Indro-nāma-divākara (the sun of spiritual power under the name of Indra), with a miniature icon of Śākyamuni (Akṣyobhya in the attitude of touching the earth) the centre of its crown, is inscribed with the inscription of Guhamitra dated Saṃvat 402 (480 A.D.) in Māna Deva's overall scheme of Bhairavi-cakra-pravartana (the transition to Bhairavi-cakra). Guhamitra is described as the manager of the traders' transport organisation. It is striking that the pseudonym of Yakṣa Guhyaka entrusted by Dvaipāyana to organise Arjuna's tour to Indra-kīla through the mountain pass of Śilocca in Bhāravi's Kirātārjuniya seems to be borrowed from the name of Guha-mitra who set up this statue.

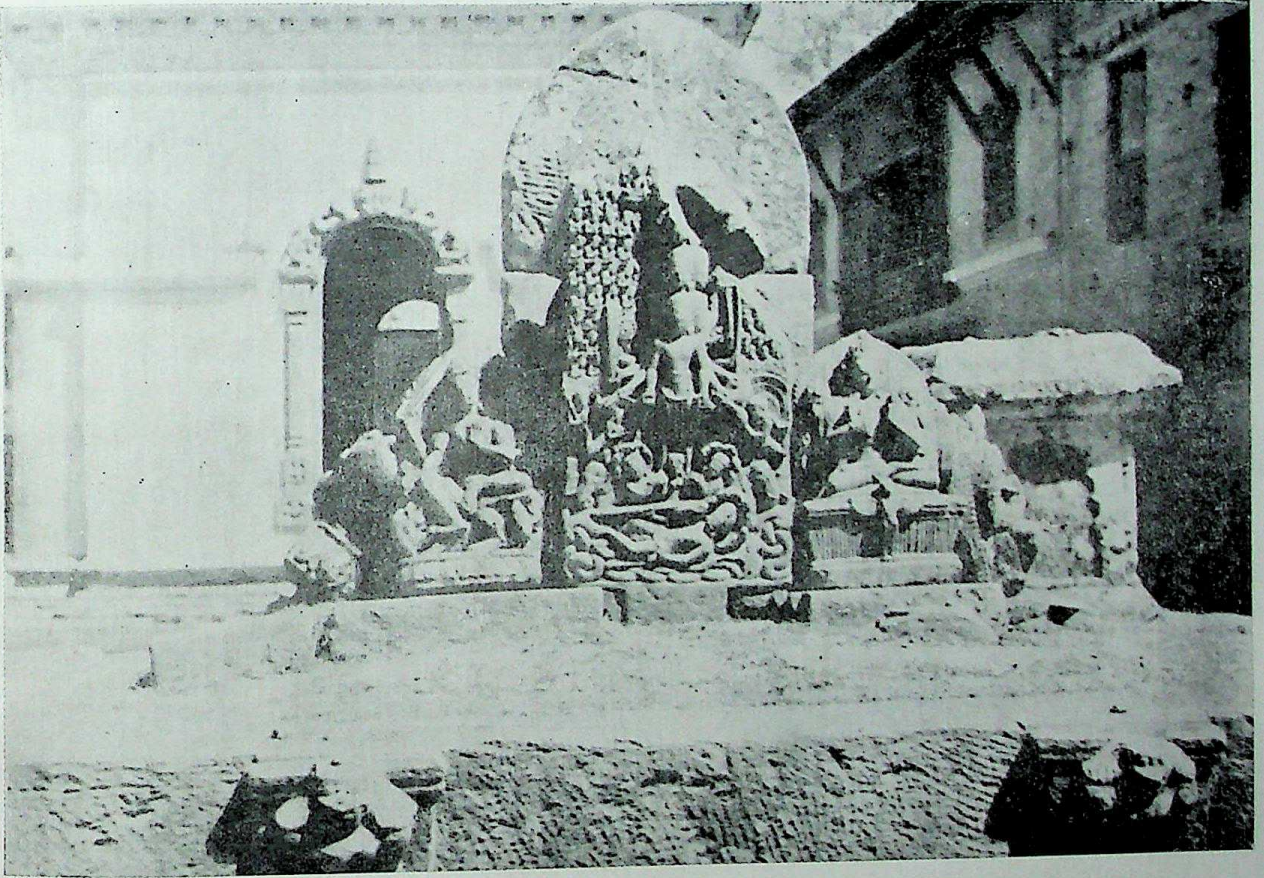
of human skulls under the influence of the school of Muṇḍasṛṅkhalika Pāśu-patācāryas with an icon of Akṣyobhya at the centre of its *crown*.¹⁶⁰ The occurrence of the Celestial Buddhas so early in these statues is a unique feature of Nepalese sculpture of this period. We also notice its Third Eye opening at the centre of its forehead directly under the miniature icon of Akṣyobhya on its crown. It wears round ear-pendants composed of sixteen beads of Rudrākṣyas (angiosperm) which means that its meditations are modelled upon the image of Vajreśvara. Its two eyes, nose, cheeks and chin are so chiselled as to make it look grotesque and awful. Its lips open at a queer angle to indicate that it is making Lion's *Roar of Victory*.¹⁶¹ It has a short neck indistinguishable from its robust trunk, which wears the necklace of Three Jewels. It holds the " Inverted Cups " indicating the nuptial of the earth and the sky close to its heart and describes with his fingers the attitude of " Bhairavi-cakra " under the coil of the endless serpent of Time. It holds an adamant " Vajra " (thunderbolt) under its armpit to show that the mind of man is the master of the lightning. It wears an overall garland of human skulls between two hems of its robe which hang down to its anklets. This feature further confirms the growing power of the Muṇḍasṛṅkhalika Professors of practical psychology on the execution of this statue, which totally transcends the suggestion of science as to its vague concept of immortality.

Like the relief of Urdhakeśa-Bhairava, this jet-black statue is erected frontally over the " Salilanidhana " (dead corpse) of a Vetāla under the ancient canon of " Samapada " (legs together) immobility, so that it may transcend, through its internal discipline of Yoga and intense concentration of Akṣyobhya, the mirage of nature shrouded in the shadows of death on its great adventure to the bourne of " Anādinidhana " (state of permanent and perfect beatitude and Timelessness). It is, therefore, called Mahānkāla or the Death of deaths in our scheme of immortality. This symbolic sublimation of all that is earth earthy by recourse to accepted symbols handed down from the ancient Theocracies seems to be a very unique contribution of the Nepalese sculpture in the fifth century. We have adequately discussed earlier how these symbols were the heritage of the Indus-valley-culture influenced largely by the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Indo-Greeks, Śakas, Chinese and the Kushāṇas till such time as the Licchavis and the Ābhīras

accepted them in their own scheme of Sumeru-culture and reinterpreted them as representing basic human values for universal consumption. Any scientific explorer may examine these Nepalese sculptures and basreliefs to trace them to their sources and satisfy himself how the Nepalese artists adapted them to new environments surcharged with the hopes and fears of the new races who emerged and imparted to them universal character as they went on conquering and to conquer. The ideas that germinated among the states of the Vāgwatî, Kauśikî and Gaṇḍakî river valleys, when they came into contact with the more virile people, materialise and acquire universal values with successive waves of invigorated races. In fact, our dated images in the scheme of Māna Deva's Era give us glimpses of the whole great drama of evolution moving toward the making of free persons with free intelligence capable of seeing God's great purpose under Nature's own conditions and sharing that great purpose here and now. It is remarkable how our artists borrowed all the significant symbols from foreign sources, so that they may enliven the dead mass of abstract ideas in order to add to the sum total of human knowledge and culture with the object of cultivating spiritual values and making it available to the masses of man through Sahajayāna (easy and cultivable way).

As Indra is still a subordinate but universally popular deity in the Śaivite, Vedic and Buddhist pantheons, the artist does not follow rigid liturgical rules to explain the sublimity of the concept of Mahāñkāla (Death of deaths) by weights and measurements or by anthropomorphic, ethero-morphic or theromorphic norms. Neither do we find here the search for movements, as in the case of the basrelief depicting the death dance of love-lorn Satî to the gaze of drooping Śiva, nor do we find here the foreshortening of the powerful statue of Dhūmvārāha, so that he may gather momentum to dive under the watery cosmos and rescue the still timid and supplicating figure of Earth from the clutches of Hiraṇyākṣya and bear her on the tip of his embracing elbow as the Goddess of Dawn. Then, too, we do not find here the yearning of our artist to combine all the manifestations of creation with the on and up sky-towering form of Viśvarūpa, which loses the drive and purpose of the dimension in depth underlying the psychological concept of Bhairavi-Cakra in its around and around multiplicity of animal, human and divine forms. (See Plate . . . XXIX . . .).

Plate No. XXIX



This type of on and up sky-towering and all-embracing form of Viśvarupam on the line of the concept of Bhagavat-gītā becomes common between the Gana-rājyas (People's Republics) ruled by the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas and the republics of the Mālavas who worshipped the thousand-headed image of Viṣṇu. Evidently Naravarmma was responsible for this damaged basrelief.

It needs a great deal of patient observation and imagination to understand and appreciate the dimension of spiritual development in its depth and to find out how the Nepalese artists of the fourth and the fifth centuries A.D., with their astonishingly creative genius, triumphed over the petty iconometric rules laid down by the competing religious creeds and ruled out their contradictions by creating these transcendental masterpieces which went forth, as Mañju-śhree, Avalokiteśvara or Bhairava, to influence masses of mankind over the world. No doubt, all such images, with the Third Eye of Śiva-ravi-locana or Buddha Vairocana or with the icons of Akṣh-yobhya, Amitābha, or the Buddha Messia to come over the centre of their respective crowns, are so many examples of the refutation of the complex of Light cults propagated by the astronomer, Varāhamihira and the authors of the Sāmba and Saura (solar) Purāṇas, who had their schools in Multān, Mārtand, Modherā and Konārka in India. It is remarkable that Amśu-varmān, in his warrant of precedence of the gods of Nepal, places the god of Sāmbapura below Māneśvara, and he does not make use of the Week days in his calendar. As already stated, the spelling of Kṛta-yuga in Amśu-varmān's inscription and his system of dating reverts back to the Śaka, Kuṣhāṇa and Māna Deva's scheme of providing dates for our harvest and religious festivals with such seasonal variations in the Calendar as are peculiar to the climatic conditions of the countries to which they are to be applied. This peculiarity has baffled international scholars by the uniqueness of our calendar.

Strictly from the point of view of Saddharma (true doctrine), the change over from the Caitrādi (March-April) Śaka-era after the official acceptance of Buddha Vairocana as Saṃvatsara in 78 A.D. by king Kaṇi-ṣhka—to the Kārtikādi (October-November) Māna Deva Era with the basrelief of the Midget in Three Steps may be attributed to the latter's association of the festival of Indronāma-divākara (the sun of spiritual power under the name of Indra) with the month of Bhādrapadaśudi (Bright half of the month of Bhādra) in contravention of the tradition of the Vāmana on a day known technically as Vāmana-dvādasi which falls every year on the second day of lunation of the month of Bhādra (August-September). As a practical sequel to the caricature of the Vedic concept of Viṣṇu in Three Incomprehensible Vedic Steps, the procession, in honour of the Sun

of Spiritual Power under the name of Indra, starts from Indradaha (lake of Indra) lying over the summit of Indra-parvata (mountain of Indra) and goes round Indra-gr̥ha (the temple of Indra known commonly as Yeñ-gāla), which housed this bizarre image, in its circumambulation to the accompaniment of timbrels, incences, victuals and ancient chants. This festival of Indro-nāma-divākara heralds the dawn of the Era of Bhairavai-cakra, which seems to account for the difference in the calculation of Professor L. Petech¹⁶². We do not need to repeat what we already wrote about the interlinking of this Māna Deva Era with the traditional Nirvāṇa, Śaka, Kuṣhāṇa and Mālava Eras and how finally it was associated with our harvest festival of Dasain recorded in Chapter V of this book in some detail.

Guha-mitra, who set up this eerie statue, appears, like his contemporaries Ratna-saṅgha and Prabhu-saṅgha, to have belonged to the family of traders and was the manager of the mercantile corporation of transports all by himself. Deeply devoted to king Māna-deva, Guha-mitra had a wide experience of travels, and judging from the monuments of these trading corporations and their lavish material contributions, they had amassed a large fortune at the period. Acknowledged as the king of 333 millions of Indo-Aryan gods, Indra was a favourite of Guha-mitra under the influence of the cult of the Light Deities of the Syrians, the Indo-Greeks and the Persians. To judge the position of Indra in the hierarchy of the Śaivite, Vedic and Buddhistic pantheons, he is a subordinate deity. We have seen, with reference to the Nepalese basreliefs anterior to this statue of the Sun of Spiritual Power, how Indra offers the articles of Kāraṇa-pūjā to the victorious Śiva-tripurāntaka (Gaṇeśa) or sends up a parasol over the head of the Anāgata-Buddha (the Buddha Messiah in the act of describing the future with a step) in acknowledgement of his universal reign, or showers sweet-smelling flowers from his abode on the sky over the Man-boar and Man-lion Incarnations of Viṣṇu after their victories over the demons of Brāhmannic cycle of Satya-yuga namely, Hiranyākṣa and Hiranyakaśyapa respectively. Among the legends of the epic of Mahābhārata and the Brāhmannic Purāṇas, it is Indra who listens to the petition of Earth in the disguise of a cow with regard to the depredations of the heretical Rākṣasas consequent upon the boon of Śiva, and who bears the tale of the defiance

of the Vedic injunctions to Viṣṇu, so that he assumes the incarnations of the Man-boar, the Man-lion or the Midget in Three Vedic steps to defeat the atheists and evil-doers by recourse to subterfuges. Against such a religious background, the emergence of Indra as the Sun of spiritual power under the guidance of Akṣhyobhya-vajra within the framework of the religious scheme of Sthāṇu-Śiva is a very unique feature of this particular statue.

What is most remarkable is the fact that there is no attempt at proselytizing among the followers of the Pāsupat, Vedic and Buddhistic creeds of Nepal. Guha-mitra does not seem to belong to any particular school, but under his guidance a subordinate deity is here transformed with the aid of the Professors of practical psychology as much as to accept Akṣhyobhya-vajra as the god of dawn in Nepal's scheme of Bhairavi-cakra, so that the statue, as a whole, may transcend the dictates of orthodoxy, on which the meditations of the Kauśik-Brāhmins and the Buddhistic Saugatas were fixed so far. Under the religious impulse of Bhairavi-cakra the faithfuls of Dvaipāyana's Bhāgavata-dharma and heretical Saugatas reach a compromise on the universal ground of Esoteric Kāraṇa-pujā through the pursuit of the faculties of sensory perception propagated by the Professors of practical psychology.

The development of the cult of Māneśvara as Aparājita (perennially Victorious) :

Judging from the names of king Māna Deva's daughters such as Jayasundarī and Vijayavatī respectively, the old concept of Jaya and Vijaya was getting transformed into the Tāntric cults of Jayā (Victorious one) and Vijayā (Victorious Lady). With the growing importance of Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dharanī, the Saugatas had developed the concept of Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā from the ancient roots of Ajimā as the vile outcast Mother Savarī for those down-trodden in life who may progress towards the state of Anādinidhana (the state of Timelessness), against whom the orthodox Vedic Brāhmins had barred and bolted their doors. Before the complete merging of the Brāhmannic and the Buddhistic civilisations, the goddesses of the astropsychic scheme of Kāla-cakra were the objects of beauty and joy holding lotuses in their hands to inspire the incarnations of Vishnu or Mañju-śree and Avalokiteśvara. Though the Saugatas and the Ābhīras made an independent

study of a particular religious and social situation, their works have a tendency to dovetail from different angles the problems of the contact and interpenetration of two distinct ideologies and ways of life. After the tragic basreliefs depicting the trial of Satî and Śiva and the death dance of demented Satî in the presence of love-lorn and drooping Śiva, it is these lovely goddesses who inspire with their Lotuses the amorphous forms of Vedic and Buddhist gods calculated to harmonise the overt dichotomy of the Vedic and the Buddhist social attitudes in their confrontation.

The quest for universal values needed a psychic revolution and the skeletal Māneśvarî from the traditional Jaina concept of Yoginî was being revived as the Skeletal Kañkālî or Kubjikā in order to inspire the bizarre manifestations of such deities as Māneśvara, Urdhakeśa-Bhairava or Indronāma-divākara. The acceptance by the Licchavi Royal Household of Māneśvarî as their goddess of esoteric worship appears to have started the psychic revolution of Bhairavi-cakra for the achievement of inter-ethnic and intercultural harmony and congruence between caste and class-status. The ultimate goal before this transformation of social and religious attitude was the conquest of the lurking fear of death which was as common and universal among terrestrial beings as the impulse of love represented by Manmatha. It is remarkable that this new system of Bhairavi-cakra follows as a historical sequel to Kāla-cakra and Dharma-cakra progressively. In this sense the Nirvāṇa, Śaka, Kuśhāṇa and Māna Deva eras are complementary, and this worship of Māneśvara and Māneśvarî impart a new meaning to life and a fresh impetus to the spiritual progress started with the impact of the Yakṣacults of Śākyavardhana, Strî-Īśvara and Virûpākṣa upon the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph. Though Anuparama tries to undermine the impact of this psychic revolution by investing his Vainateya over the Pilaster of Harigāon with the symbol of Vajra in his ears even as Vajreśvara, his wife and descendants affirm the validity of the psychic revolution of Bhairavi-cakra by erecting the phallus of Anuparamaśvara and by adopting the official protocol of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka. These are significant changes in the multi-ethnic society of the fifth century Nepal, which provides one of the most ancient examples of the assimilation of the urban civilisations of Moheñjodāro by a less sophisticated but more dynamic population of nomads. If the glory of the urban population lay in the patronage of religion and art,

the Kirāntas, Śākyas, Kolīs, Śakas, Licchavis, Ābhīras and Huṇas excelled in the organisation of the pyramid of the Panchāyet and government in the political scheme of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭārakas, so that the Huṇas and the Ābhīras carried the spirit and fame of their religion as far as China and Europe. We can see from the relative documents of the period that Sanskrit served as the lingua franca in this great nomadic movements across the great empires, where these nomads never bowed their heads to any Imperial power save Mañju-śhree and Sthāṇu Śiva.

This dynamic spiritual power, which carried the Licchavis, Ābhīras and Huṇas to political and linguistic supremacy, can be correlated with the specific features of their social structure based upon the principles and practices of their Suvarṇa-gotra (gold-race) origin. The features, which favoured the spatial expansion and rapid conquests of wide areas, was their faith in the new religious system of Bhairavi-cakra and Vajra-yāna which gave them independence from the local gods and local ties of Imperial and Urban populations. While the Roman, the Chinese and the Scythian Empires were still blind to the need of any universal mental empire, the Kuṣhānas, the Licchavis and the Ābhīras had conceived advanced theories of the universal reign of Śiva and Saṃbuddha based upon social justice, which recognised the ritual equality of all children born from mixed marriages. We have already pointed out in Chapter VIII and the corresponding note¹¹⁴ how it was this new sentiment of love, chivalry and social justice that impelled Princess Honoria to send a ring to Attilā calling upon him to deliver her when the Huṇas expanded into the Capital of the Eastern Roman Empire.

The mystery Vijayasvāminī's Inscription of the village of Palānchowk and the image of Devi Bhagavati Vijaya-Śhree (See Plate . . . XVIII . . .) :

We have discussed the antecedents of the great drama of Dhruvāsvāminī with reference to the Indian documents in Chapter XIII. We would now conclude our Judicial Customs of Nepal, Part I by quoting the freshly discovered Inscription of Vijayasvāminī dedicated to the image of Devī Bhagavati Vijaya-Śhree and some Bhoginī series of the copper-coins known as the Mānāñkas, which completely disprove the theories advanced by Professors Shankar, Dr. Jayaswal and Dr. D. W. Macdowall as to these coins being minted during the administration of Amīśuvarman.

The Inscription reads as follows :—

1. Saṃvat 400-20-5 māghaśuklapaurṇamāsyāṃ asyāndivasapûrvāyāṃ
Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śhree Mānadevasya
 2. sāgram varṣaśatamājñāpayataḥ samrādgrahapates patnyā Vijayasvāminyā
pratiṣṭhāpitā Devî-Bhagavatî Vijaya Śhree ॥
- Rendered into English the Inscription would read as follows :—

1. Saṃvat 425 (503 A.D.) month of Māgha (January-February) full
moon tithi; during great King of fraternal kings Śhree Māna Deva's
2. Era Exceeding one hundred years, when the Emperor exercises his
effective authority as the Lord of the Planets, this is (the image of)
Devî Bhagavatî Vijaya Śhree dedicated by his wife Vijaya-svāminî.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image which is now detached for its preservation and erected at a prominent place, so that everybody may read and assess its historical value. The characters are archaic northern Brāhmî of the series of Māna Deva's Inscriptions. The exquisite image of Devî Bhagavatî Vijaya Śhrîe is about 3½ ft. × 2 ft and 7½ ins. and the stone pedestal is exactly of the size to hold the image. The language is Sanskrit under the influence of Prākṛit. Unlike the Gupta Inscriptions, it does not mention the name of the week days according to the practice of the solar calender popularised in Indian states by the Alexandrian school of Greek astronomers. Unlike Samudragupta's Inscription of Allahabad the term Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja shows that king Māna Deva was acknowledged to be the leader of the Republican States of fraternal kings known as Gaṇarājyas. The expression "Sāgramvarṣa-śatam" etc. occurring in line 2 refers to the Era of Bhairavi-cakra started by king Māna Deva in the wake of the Era of king Kaṇiṣhka. The cryptic expression "Śamrādgrahapateḥ" refers to the universal reign of Paśupati as the Master of the Planets. We have adequately discussed the significance of Śiva as Graha-pati in the sense of the Master of the Planets in Chapter VIII and how the cryptic expression signifies a change in the religious and social attitudes with the change of Saṃvatsara, where the shepherd god Śiva plays the principal role from his abode of Kailāsa believed to be situated over the summits of Sumeru.

After the discovery of this Inscription of Palānchowk in the district of East No. 1, our celebrated historian Yogi Śhree Naraharinātha has adequately quoted from ancient artifacts and Manuscripts to prove that the patron of the immortal statue of Vijaya Śhree and the authoress of the inscription namely, Vijaya-svāminī,—was actually the heroine of the drama of Devī-candraguptam which agitated the minds of the peoples of the fifth century from Iran to India. S. Levi has most competently commented upon the term “ Bhoginī ” as being the concubine of king Māna Deva, but he was not in a position to account for the reason why the “ Bhoginī ” series of Mānāñkas were struck in the mints of Nepal to commemorate the victory.

Who was this Bhoginī Vijayasvāminī who claimed to be the wife of king Māna Deva I and set up the image of Devī Bhagavatī Vijaya Śhree ?

We have adequately discussed in Chapter XIII Mr S. M. Mukherji's article on “ The tradition of Rāmagupta and the Indian historians ” with reference to the fragmentary drama of Devī-candraguptam discovered by Professors S. Levi and Sarasvatī as early as 1923. We have indicated how Vijayasvāminī appears to be an Indian counterpart of Honoria. The Inscriptions of Queen Kṣema-sundarī dated Saṃvat 390 (468 A.D.) found inscribed around the base of a Śiva-liṅga and dedicated to king Māna Deva shows that the king had gone out on a war-like adventure and that the news of his death appears to have filtered through to the capital. To judge from the Wordings of Kṣema-Sundarī's inscriptions his wife at home erected the phallus of Śiva and the temple to his memory. Judging from the adjacent Inscription of Naravarmma dated Saṃvat 388 (466 A.D.) also inscribed at the base of Śiva-liṅga, Kṣema-sundarī seems to be related to the Varman kings of the Mālava-gaṇa-rājyas already discussed. No doubt, queen Kṣema-sundarī was the mother of king Vasanta-deva and his sister Jaya-sundarī. About the same time Māna Deva's basrelief of the Midget in Three Vedic Steps is erected at the same spot in Lājampāṭ. All these Inscriptions from Saṃvat 388 (466 A.D.) to Saṃvat 390 (467 A.D.) seem to be packed with great thrills and this period may be associated with the world-shaking episode of *Vijaya-svāminī*.¹⁶³

Further to the Inscription of Kṣema-sundarî, we have discovered the Inscription of Guṇavatî inscribed at the base of a Śiva-liṅga which is dedicated to the memory of her father Kinnara-varmma. This Inscription is dated Saṃvat 413 (497 A.D.) where Guṇavatî also claims to be the wife of king Māna Deva. To judge her from the name of her father, Guṇavatî was a Kinnarî . To judge him from such unions, Māna Deva did not accept the Brāhmannic ideal of caste endogamy, and he seems to have entered into marital union with the daughters of the Mālavas, the Kinnaras and the Ābhîras who assumed the title of Varmma because they took the vows of Kṣatriya to fight as he did. We do not find the intolerant attitude to inter-ethnic, inter-cultural and inter-religious unions and contacts in the inscriptions of the Paśupati-Bhaṭṭarakas. Whatever their family faith or fealty in life, they achieved unity at their death when their wives, or descendents erected Śiva-liṅgas or stone-caityas in their respective names to commemorate them. The occurrence of a number of Śiva-liṅgas with the images of Viṣṇu on the four cardinal compass corners or the occurrence of the image of Śiva on the northern cardinal compass corner of a Caitya tend to show that the Vedic Brāhmins and the Buddhists were converging to a symbiosis in Śaivism which rejected caste or colour prejudices propagated by those who claimed to be twice-born. Membership of a Kṣatriya community seems to be dependent upon the vows to fight rather than on caste and class as categories by themselves.

We have worked out the chronologies of the Licchavi and of the Ābhîra dynasties in Chapter XIII. Before we discuss the social and religious impact of the episode of Dhruvasvāminî, it would be useful to discuss the Inscriptions of Princess Vijayavatî who was the daughter of King Māna Deva through Bhoginî Vijayasvaminî. It was this lady who set up the image of Devî Vijaya Śhree way back in 503 A.D. We have already pointed out in Chapter XIII how Vijayavatî mentions the name of her husband as Vārttaḥ Devalābha. But because he ruled over the basins watered by river Mahî, he was known as Mahî-deva. According to the Inscription of Kevalpur (N. I. LIV pp. 71-72) we find yet another dynasty of fraternal kings known as Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Śhree Vasurāja. In this line we find the mention of kings Śhree Manî-deva, Māna-deva (II) and Śhree Gaṇa-deva among the list of former kings where Śhree Bhûmagupta is also men-

tioned. Evidently, Mahîdeva was married to Vijayavatî who set up the phallus known as Vijayaśvara to the memory of her husband dated Samvat 427 (505 A.D.). Evidently king Mahîdeva had passed away by 505 A.D. During this stormy period of the history of Nepal our noble research Worker Śhree Nayarāja Panta claims to have seen an Inscription of Bhāravi dated Samvat 472 (551 A.D.) which gives a clue to king Māna-deva II who was the father of *king Gaṇa-deva*.¹⁶⁴ All these inscriptions are fundamental in helping us to understand the fire and drive behind the episode of Vijaya-svāminî and the start of the system of Bhairavi-cakra. We are quoting these Inscriptions in the accompanying notes which will explain the coalescences and division of power in the Himālayas with the rise of the Hepthilite king Toramāna Shāhî and Mihirakula when the Kashmiri king Kramalîla appears at the court of king Vasanta-deva.

A manuscript known as “ Sarit-sāgara ” (The Ocean of story Vol. IX, p 290) tells us that the Śaka-muruṇḍas were the most powerful enemies of the Indian Napoleon, Samudra-gupta. Despite the growing influence of the Bhāgavata-dharma at his court, Samudra-gupta’s Licchavi mother appears to have initiated him into the cult of Paśupati whom the Licchavis, Ābhîras and Huṇas seem to be worshipping at the period. We have already said in Chapter XIII how Samudra-gupta had arranged a matrimonial alliance with the Suvarṇa-gotra Śakas in order to bring about a reconcillation with them at the expense of the Brāhmannic caste-system. Notwithstanding these hopeful developments, the orthodox Brāhmins had manipulated the etymology of Sûrya-gotra and Ikṣvākus so egotistically that arguments were useless and a war broke out between the Śakas and the Guptas over the ceremonial rites of Kanyā-dāna (the gift of a girl) and “ Upādāna ” (the acquisition of a bride). The implication of this ritual of giving away of the bride explains why a woman could be formally married only once in life. According to the Vedic Brāhmins, the girl, like any other object of sacred gifts made to the sacred order of priests, was an irrevocable act, and not a contractual relationship by mutual love and consent. There was also the question of “ Upādāna ” which meant that the bridegroom was entitled to receive dowry in the shape of movable and immovable property along with the gift of the bride. This system ran counter to the “ Gotra ” affiliation of the Himālayan peoples which exceeded the clan, class and caste

limits set up by the peoples who claimed solar origin. In the Himālayan system of Suvarṇa-gotra, there are no elements of stratification or ranking, where wealth or political power can give us a position in the sacred order of a super-race.

Professor Haimendorf in his "Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon" observes : "No THAR is inherently superior or inferior to any other Chetri clan, and no lineage within a clan has precedence over other lineages. The prominence attained at various times by individual Chetri families, and the reflected glory enjoyed by other members of their lineage, is the prize of success in the political field, and is not inherent in the (Social) system. The most obvious example is the widely ramified Rāṇā family, which sprang from the Chetri clan of Kunwar (Kamar), but on gaining supreme political power-changed the name to Rāṇā, and for nearly a century overshadowed all other Chetri clans. Yet, even at the time of Rāṇā rule, the Kunwar class as a whole was not considered superior to such clans as Thāpā or Biṣṭa, and it was only members of the dominant Rāṇā family who claimed a status equal to that of Thakuris and achieved alliance with the Royal house."

This reminds me of the ridiculous marriage agreements of the members of the ruling Rāṇā families with the feudal high-caste princes of India under Brāhmannic influence in order to secure table and kitchen status with them by resort to special nuptial rites, so that they may be entitled to accept the "Piṇḍas" (offerings of rice balls to the deceased) after they were dead. There could be no end to the manufacture of such lies, if we depend upon the Brāhmannic Smṛtis as the basis of our laws to the neglect of the tradition of the fifth-century Kṣettriyas who created the concept of Varmma (Varmān) on the sole criteria that the kingdom that stops producing brave men ceases to be a nation. The behaviour pattern of the Rāṇā hierarchy underwent a change even as those of the decadent Licchavis, once they admitted the validity of the Brāhmannic chronologies which were without historical examples and parallels. That is exactly what seem to have happened between the progressive Śaka-muruṇḍas and caste-dominated Guptas when they differed over the questions of Kanyā-dāna and Upādāna. But when reason failed to guarantee the sanctity of the human emotions of love and when the ladies longed for a change, the last appeal, as ever,

lay to the sword for a decision by force, where brave men decided the issue "to deserve the fair." The Śakas, Kuṣhāṇas, Licchavis, Huṇas and Ābhīras stood in a long line of Varmma (brave men) who were armed to the teeth and could fight against all odds under the inspiration of Kāraṇa-pūjā common with the peoples of all races and dissolve with them. To-day when the world is faced with so many human problems, it may be useful to bring out the significance of the system of Bhāiravi-cakra and acknowledge that what Māna Deva achieved in the fifth century was worth the price.

Eminent scholars have discovered the uniqueness of marriage customs obtaining among the different communities of Nepal and have painstakingly made anthropological field researches in areas where Hindu and Buddhist civilisations dovetail and merge. We have explained how real Hindu Civilisation stemmed from the Indus-valley complex of the Great Mother Goddess and the shepherd god Paśupati. From a comparative study of the Inscriptions of the Vedic and the Buddhistic patriarchs, a complicated religious and social situation appears to have developed during the fifth century. More important than the accounts of the Hunnic wars are the reasons why the Licchavis, the Huṇas and the Ābhīras fought their wars. The entire picture of the world history can be seen in proper perspective, when there are Inscriptions and documents to testify to the fact that these wars were fought to ameliorate human rights and guarantee the equal rights of women by reference to the sterling characters of the galaxy of unique Śākya, Kolī, Yakṣī, Kinnarī, Licchavi and Ābhīrī ladies who have left behind monuments of their faith for the benefit of mankind. I have reason to hope that an independent and scientific study of the subsequent Licchavi Inscriptions (particularly XVII, XVIII and LVII in G.N.I.) would throw a flood of light on the ethnic and social situation, as it developed with the overt dichotomy of Brāhmannic and Buddhistic religious attitudes, where Śaivism served as the bridge for the contact and interpenetration of two distinct ideologies and ways of life.

My impressions of a visit to the wind-swept village of Palānchowk on the summit of Kābhre hills of the Mabābhārata range, where the image of Devī-Bhagavatī-Vijaya-Śhree was set up by Vijayasvāminī in 503 A.D. :

The village of Palānchowk clings precariously to the summit of the fast-eroding Kābhre hill which rises steeply from Dolalghāt in the district of East No. 1 along the Kāthmandu-Kodāri highway about 30 miles to the east of the present capital of Nepal. Judging from the size and the dwindling population of this dry and partially deserted village, the small three-storied pagoda-temple built to house this exquisite image after the great earth-quake of January 15, 1933 A.D., stands in a quadrangular courtyard paved with moon-wise cut stones and Kolī-bricks of standard size as vestiges from the successive ravages of nature and time. It is a miracle that the image of Devî Vijaya Śhree has survived with the Inscription of Vijaya-svāminî to give us the true picture of the great human drama of the fifth century which agitated the minds of men from one corner of the world to the other. The succeeding Śaivite, Vedic, Buddhistic and Tāntric sanctuaries, images, basreliefs and monuments within the compound of the temple and amid what is to day a village of sixty houses, are as exceptional in their variety as they are unique in their execution, which speak for the importance of the site during the fifth century. Indeed, a great effort of imagination is needed to visualise the loftiness of the ensemble which gives us an idea of the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Licchavis, the Ābhīras, the Huṇas and the Guptas when they travelled through the Nirvāṇa, Śaka and Kuṣhāṇa Millennias to the Era of king Māna Deva, which marked the reawakening among all classes of women and their innate feeling towards brave fighters and adventurers, rather than towards their cowardly and egotistical husbands who claimed to possess them by the flimsy bonds of nuptial rites prescribed by the priestly order of Kauśīks.

Here Vijayasvāminî does not pine her life away to become a nun like Yasodharā after her desertion by Śākyamuni, nor does she disappear like Sitā into the bosom of Earth in order to avoid the aspersion of a washerman, nor does she commit suicide like queen Jocasta. On the other hand, Vijayasvāminî survives the ordeal of war to obliterate her guilt complex of the Brāhmannic " SMĀRTA " laws in the Tāntric Bowl of Vijaya-Śhree who is the Goddess of her vision obtained through her union and orgasm on the embracing arms of Māna Deva in the new scheme of Kāraṇapujā, which is celebrated with the worship of Jayā, Vijayā and Aparajitā during the period of Dasain even to our own day.

We have already observed how the concept of the Earth-goddess and her relation to the king of Gods is an Indo-Aryan concept of Vedic origin. Here Vijaya-Śhree, as a Durgā-mahiṣa-mardinī, is a fifth-century development from the cult of the Great Mother Goddess of Moheñjodāro from whose body the tree of life bursts forth. Symbolically, the worship of the phallus of Paśupati over the ring-stone as Íśvara-deva or Maheśvara (god of gods) is the most important article of this psychological approach to the realisation of the vision of the Almighty God on our side of the grave. Vijaya Śhree, as a Śhakti and manifestation of Nature as Energy, is responsible for killing the fear of Old Mortality represented by the Buffalo demon who is the mount of Yamarāja (the Brāhmannic king of the Inferno). Thus we see how Vijayasvāminī follows the links in the chain of historical situations in her confirmation of the new scheme of Bhairavi-cakra where Śiva is recognised as the Master of the Planets (Grahapati). The human drama of king Māna Deva and Vijayasvāminī provided the background material for the impending transition to the Era of Māna Deva which deeply stirred the poets, dramatists and the people of the fifth century with its echo to our own time.

In view of our iconographic observations of the images and basreliefs dated in the scheme of Bhairavi-cakra, we have pointed out how they mark a turning point not only in style, typology and costume, but also in their spiritual content. There is a growing emphasis on the efficacy of the FIVE Ms as the true base of spiritual power in place of the Five Moralities (Pañca-śīla) and Five Ambrosias (Pañca-gavya) propagated by the Buddhists and the Brāhmins respectively. This anticipates a real revolution in the spiritual outlook of man under Nature's own conditions, for which the Buddhists and the Brahmins have bypassed king Māna Deva I in their chronologies. This factor, therefore, establishes a definite departure from the Brāhmannic and Buddhistic horizons and those belonging to the higher form of Tāntrism which Dhruvasvāminī accepts as the Victorious Lady. Because Devī Bhagavatī Vijaya Śhree represents the realisation of her vision, she assumes the name of Vijayasvāminī to proclaim the victory of her brave husband's concept of the new system of Bhairavi-cakra as the real discipline to shake off the lurking fear of death and inferno on our side of the grave.

We can imagine the reason why the Buddhists created the basreliefs of Avalokiteśvara with the sacred threads of the twice-born (Dvija) and why Vijayasvāminî created the image of the bond-free Vijaya Śhree, who was beyond all laws, when we know how the Brāhmins tried to change our social system by making the legend of Śiva and Satî the targets of their attacks. We have explained the religious implications of the ichthyological concepts of the Fish and the Tortoise as well as of the Man-boar, Man-lion, and the Midget in Three Vedic Steps till the Buddhists rationalised them by creating the basreliefs of Avalokiteśvara as the sixth Incarnation of Viṣṇu. But the sacred threads, with which these Avalokiteśvaras were invested, still served as the bonds of caste -system with the smirk of xenophobia which stood behind the Vedic revivals who preached unquestioned allegiance to their Bhāgavata-dharma. However, the Brāhmannic caste-theorists seem to be disturbed by the legends of Strī-īśvara and Virûpākṣa which provided the basis for the transformation of the social system in the Himālayas. The Kauśiks seem to have found it impossible to change the meaning and context of the Śaivite pantheons of Śiva-ravilocana and Vairocana, specially because they had provided the basis for the start of the Śaka and Kushāṇa Millennias expressed in terms of concrete Eras as landmarks in man's steady spiritual realisation. The Man-boar and the Man-lion had to yield their pride of position to the basrelief of Viṣṇu in Three Vedic Steps as they could not provide a basis for the Brāhmannic Smṛtis (Laws) for the men in the street out of the sky.

I should like to illustrate the audacity of the Brāhmins to change the context and meaning of mountaineers' love of freedom by reference to the legend depicted in a basrelief within the compound of the temple of Paśupati, which presents the trial of Satî and Śiva in a Dharmādhikaraṇa (Court to deliver justice prescribed by the Dharma-śāstras) for their elopement. This interesting relief depicts the Day of Judgment, when the Daniel of Yamarāja (the Brāhmannic king of the Inferno) occupies the throne, which is supported over the horns of a buffalo (Yama's mount as well as his agent of death). There is the scale of justice before Chitrāgupta (the scribe of Yamarāja) who records the statements of Śiva while Satî droops down with her baby born out of her love with Śiva as defendants. The plaintiffs are Satî's parents, Dakṣa-prajāpati and Aditî, while the

younger sisters of Satî, who are married to the Brāhmannic gods of the sky according to the rites of Kanyā-dāna (gift of a bride in marriage by parents independent of her consent), look down upon the Court-scene in derision. There is no date in this basrelief, but judging from the Court-scene of the Dharmādhikaraṇa, the theme and the costumes of the people, this relief seems to represent the worst phase of Brāhmannic revival, which provided the background material for the death-dance of demented Satî before the drooping Śiva and paved the way for Māna Deva's episode with Vijayasvāminî and the consequent image of Vijaya Śhree. The ingenuity, with which the Kauśiks make their Yamarāja occupy the Throne as the king of Law and arbiter of the destiny of men in life and after death in a trial, which involves the Himālayan Shepherd god and his consort,—determines the legal and constitutional foundation for the Brāhmannic concept of Dharma in an age when the adherents of Dvaipāyana were condemning the Saugatas as heretics. We can read the great religious tussle of the fourth and fifth centuries in this particular basrelief where the Vedic Brāhmins ruthlessly attack the Yogic path of sensory perception and the Buddhistic path of rationality, both of which refuted the Vedic concept of Heaven and Hell and asserted that God was attainable here and now through Yogic practices of self-discipline and "Buddhānusmṛtis" based upon meditative practices under the guiding light of Akṣhyobhya-vajra or Amitābha. It seems to have become clear to our ancestors of the fifth century that men and women must make good in this life itself, rather than look beyond the grave for the pleasures of Heaven or the punishment of Hell or the treadmill of transmigration for their deliverance. To say that doing good to the priestly order of whatever denomination could make it possible for us to get a passport to Heaven or the refutation of the Vedic laws would transport us to hell,—was a hard lesson to learn, and it was equally a hard conclusion to admit because the dead men told no tales and because the ghosts were so erratic.

In an atmosphere surcharged with such currents and cross-currents, Vijayasvāminî appears to have fixed her concentration on the bond-free Durgā Mahisamardinî as her symbol of destroying the lurking fear of Yamarāja's agent of mortality and as her esoteric deity of pure transcendence for her internal liberation from guilty memory. In this connec-

tion, the sacrifice of the Buffalo-demon of mortality and the transforming moment are to be found in the inverted cups of Vijaya Śhree over which the Devî describes the attitude of Bhairavi-cakra with her fingers. It would be useful at this stage to describe faithfully the legend of our Victorious Lady, which our artist works out with the genius of his chisel to bring out symbolically the characteristics which bring about the essential and ontological change in the nature and mental attitude of Vijaya-svāminî calculated to deliver her from the dread of inferno and its damnation.

The legend of Devî Bhagavatî Vijaya Śhree

The legend depicted in this image of Vijaya Śhree (the Victorious Lady) is entirely different from the legends of the Man-boar and the Man-lion, where the Almighty Viṣṇu plays his part under the inspiration of the Jewel and the Lotus to upset the effects of the benedictions of Śiva which make the Golden-eyed demons (Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇya-Kaśyapa) invincible. In this basrelief of Vijaya Śhree, Sumbha and Nisumbha are two brothers who have obtained the boon of immortality from Śiva-Rudra. But unlike the figure of Buddha Kaśyapa lying helpless on the lap of the Man-lion, Sumbha and Nisumbha have the mien of men wearing crowns of hooded Himālayan king-cobras. The legend depicted is that Sumbha and Nisumbha engage Mahiṣāsura (Yamāraja's Buffalo of mortality) as their general to let loose diseases and deal death and damnation among men and gods. Deeply oppressed the gods including Viṣṇu and Brahmā proceed to Kailāsa to inform Umā-Maheśvara as to the havocs of the Frankensteins who were undoing all the good works of the creator. At this Śiva asked all the Vedic gods to join him in Yogic concentration, so that they may by their common efforts create a Śhakti who materialised into this vision of Durgā-mahiṣamardinî as the Victorious Lady. The legend proceeds that the Durgā went out to sing her song of love from the summit of this mountain which attracted the attention of Sumbha and Nisumbha, both of whom became enamoured of her beauty and grace and coveted to possess her. But the Durgā replied that she could consent to marry the person who could win a victory over her in the battlefield. So, they commanded Mahiṣāsura to offer her the battle the Durgā wanted,

while the two brothers fell out between themselves for the prize and destroyed themselves.

It is interesting how the Nepalese artist of the fifth century depicts this metaphysical battle between the Durgā and the Buffalo Demon of Mortality. As the relative plate would show, this Durgā wears a five-peaked crown studded with skulls according to the principles and practices of Muṇḍa-Sṛṅkhalika Pāsupatācārya. We can see the intense concentration of this Durgā over the inverted cup of skull full to the brim with the ambrosial contents of the Five Ms, which she holds near her heart and describes the attitude of Bharavi-cakra with her fingers. Her gorgeous ear-pendants are inscribed with the symbols of the Thunderbolt after the image of Vajreśvara. She wears the most delicate ornaments characteristic of the fifth century she represents. Her waist-band is a zābmā (skirt) in three pleats held together at the centre by a Garuḍa-beaked belt. Nonchalantly, she holds the Buffalo-demon of Mortality by its tail with one of her left hands, strikes it dead by the trident supplied by her male counterpart Śiva and tears out the lurking fear and figure of death from its lifeless trunk, so that men may be free from the fear of Yamarāja's Last Judgment and the murk of Hell engendered by those who staged the trial of Śivā and Satī. This symbolic sublimation of our sin-complex and the dread of death renders this unique sculpture an instrument of transformation for an objective change of plane. And it is this victory of the Durgā that Nepal celebrates with the traditional worship of Aparājitā, Jayā and Vijayā on a day known as Vijayā-dasami associated with our harvest festival of Dasain to our own day. (Read Chapter V).

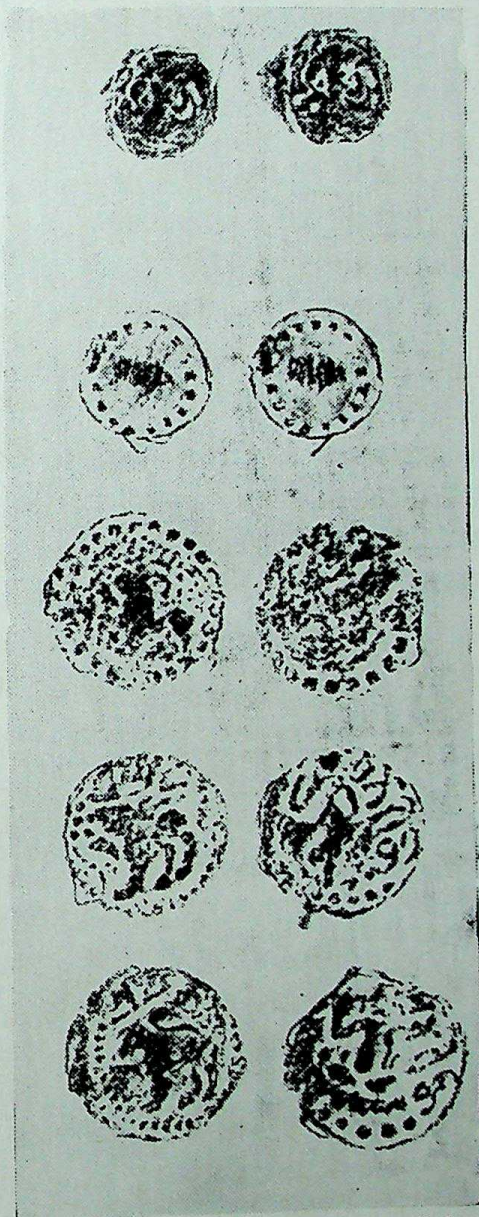
The superscriptions on the Bhoginī series of Mānāṅka coins :

One of the matters of great historical significance in this superb sculpture is the foreshortening of the heraldic Lion of the Śākyas before the right foot of this Durgā in the attitude of making a spring upon its prey Mahiṣāsura. This Lion is strikingly similar to the heraldic lions inscribed on the reverse of the Bhoginī series of coins known as the Mānāṅkas. Judging from their protocol, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu made use of this type of Lion as the mount of their Strī-īśvara who was the fe-

male counterpart of Íśvaradeva or Śākyavardhana whom they worshipped. This Durgā is the fifth-century development of the Great Mother Goddess Śirīmā or Śhree who was the female counterpart of Paśupati seen on the ancient figures of Moheñjodāro. This heraldic Lion of the Śākyas was adopted by the Licchavis as the symbol of their Nirbhīḥ-simha who was capable of neutralising the poisonous bite of the cobra-crowned Sumbha at its back. The chemical properties of the Himālayan drug of Nirbiṣi as an antidote against snake-bite seems to be associated with the concept of "Nirbhīḥ-simha", which has more medical significance than metaphorical. If this "Lion's Yawn" is interpreted in the sense of "Viṣkandhaka-samādhi" in the case of the statue of the Sun of Power under the name of Indra, this very heraldic lion has been made into the mount of the Durgā for the purposes of this image.

The Paśupati-coins of Nepal have a very long history, as they seem to be directly related with the symbols and figures of Moheñjodāro which the Śākyas, the Śākas and the Licchavis adopted as their heritage. We have already seen how these doctrines became a part of the psychic life of the Himālayan peoples, which helped them to interpret sin and guilt as well as goodness and redemption. At the earliest phases, we find the Trident of Siva as the symbols of the coins of Kapilavastu. We have already discussed the superscriptions of the image of Śiva (Oesho) on the coins of the Śākas, the Kasas and the Kuṣhāṇas and how they were being copied by the Licchavi kings of Nepal. The characteristic feature of all Paśupati coins is the representation of two or four-armed Śiva, standing or sitting and holding a Paśu (brute usually represented by a Mṛga or deer) and Pāśa (noose or Gordian knot symbolising human complex which bind the terrestrial beings in bonds of mortality). For their own international reasons the Śākas appear to have clothed the nude form of Śiva in tiger-skin or the habiliment of the country concerned and made him Śiva-krttivāsa in order to serve the purpose of superscriptions on their coins for international use. The Coat of arms of the Kingdom of Nepal used the image of four-armed Paśupati with the traditional symbols of the Live-deer, the Gordian knot, the hand-drum and the Trident cum Battle-axe, since replaced by the pagoda-temple in place of this Guardian deity of Nepal since time immemorial. The reverse of Paśupati coins of different periods

Plate No. XXX



Inscribed gold-leaf, clay-tablets and three varieties of the Bhoginī series of Mānāñka coins which bear the stamp of the relics and coins excavated in Kapilavastu and the adjoining regions.

bear the imprint of such heraldic and pastoral animals as the Bull, the Cow, the Lion, the Elephant and the fantastic winged-horse and the winged-Lion along with the Symbols of the Ishtar (Tārā) of old-world vintage from the Babylonian city.

Judging from the coin-types obtained from our excavations of Kapilavastu down to the Licchavis, a truly deep study of the various symbols and heraldic animals may be necessary for the factual assessment of the coins of Nepal, which typologically are so similar as to mislead the research-workers in this field. As the via-media of trade between India and Central and Western Asia, the Nepalese coins had to conform to standard weights and measures and also adopt universally popular and acceptable spiritual symbols without losing its national identity in the confederation of fraternal kings. Of this the Walking Lion, seen of the Bhoginī series of Mānāñkas, is a case in point (See Plates XXX).

The walking Lion of the Śākyaas and the Licchavis :

The heraldic Lion of the Śākyaas and the Licchavis is very much unlike the British version of the Lion-rampant modelled upon the realistic representation of the Lion in the Greek sculpture. Because of the total unfamiliarity of the Nepalese artists with the African kings of Beasts, the Walking Lion, appearing at the right foot of the Durgā as well as the superscription of Lions over the Bhoginī series of Mānāñkas, seems to be the figures of ambling jackals of Nepal. This Walking Lion has nothing in common with the Man-lion, which, as we have pointed out, is modelled upon the Zurvan. Evidently, the Walking Lions of Nepal is a figment of Nepalese artists' fancy based upon their knowledge of the ambling jackals (Jam bukas) which find mention in the chronologies of Nepal. The solar dynasty of the Śākyaas of Kapilavastu, comprised by the ruins of Tilaurākot within what is today the district of Pālhi-mājhaḥaṇḍ in western Nepal, regarded the Lion as the Queen's Beast and used the animal to explain the Samādhi (concentrations) associated with their worship of Śākyavar-dhana and Strī-iśvara. Consequently, the Buddhistic scriptures tell us that, immediately before his Great Passing, Śākyamuni entered into a concentration, which was like the Lion's Yawn. Among the early sculptures in the suburbs of Kathmandu, I have discovered a few examples of these Ja-

ckal-like lions couchant literally with a yawn. Because of the uniqueness of Viṣkandaka concentration, these jackal-like lions appear to have provided our artists with the inspiration to explore the psychic phenomena by creating these lithe and elastic Walking Lions so that they may explain the experience of extra-sensory perception by their unpredictable movements. After all that, I have seen of the so far unexplained Walking Lions of China, I feel convinced that the Jackal-like lions of Nepal seem to be evocative of the ancient concentration of "Viṣkandaka" which, in this sculpture of Durgā as well as in the superinscription of the Bhoginī series of Mānāñka coins, represents the crowing assault upon Mahisāsura (Yamarāja's Buffalo of mortality)¹⁶⁵.

A comparative study of the Walking-lion of the Bhoginī series of Mānāñkas and of the winged-lion appearing on some of the Paśupati coins struck during the administration of Aṃśuvarmān, shows that the latter was a further development of this supreme world of imaginative art from the most remote period of recorded history. It is equally remarkable that the "Two-nāga kings of Ano-u-ta", since supplanted by the symbols of the Double fish, the Sun-bird Garuḍa, the Winged Lion and the Monkey god Hanumāna form part of the Heraldic Beasts in the monarchical tradition of the Kings of Nepal as they go on gathering corruptions even to our own day. The same is true of the Fish-tail flag and the symbols of the Eight Auspices, which have become universal in their scope and appeal.

The thousand years between the fundamental teachings of Śākya-muni with his concept of Dharma-cakra symbolised by his Eight-spoked-Wheel of Law and the Indo-Greeks, the Śākas, the Kuṣhānas, the Licchavis and the Ābhīras, as it is now being made plain to us by the study of the original sources, is clear and simple and in the closest harmony with the lives of the peoples who emerged as factors in the history of mankind. The achievements of the Buddhistic and Vedic saints against the political background of the rise of the Indo-Greeks, Śākas, Kuṣhānas, Licchavis, Ābhīras and Huṇas seem to be the results of the most penetrating intelligences the world has ever known. But when we come to the matter-of-fact existence in our work a day world, the Vedic Revelations and Buddhistic rationality and science cannot explain the mental agony of mankind all by themselves. And the more Brāhmannism and Buddhism escaped from

their Gaṇḍakīan and Kauśīkan setting into the broader world of Central Asia, the more it turned to the quest of universal concepts and universal idioms to convey its central truths. We have explained how the Śākya, Śaka, Kuṣhāna and Licchavi millennias had arrived at their own respective spiritual insights into the meaning of the words and deeds of their prophets and patriarchs. But each new interpretation of the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase-epitaph had generally been in the direction of less literal and more symbolic truth based upon the concept of saddharma (true law). If the Vedic patriarchs, for example, interpreted Viṣṇu's promise of reincarnations, the atheistical Saugatas, with their own knowledge of science and cosmos, obliterated the supernatural dimensions of the Brāhmannic gods of the sky. Nevertheless, our Saugatas of the fifth century were not like the modern astronauts who did not encounter God in the interstellar space but they created the image of Avalokiteśvara. The Vedic Brāhmins and the heretical Saugatas appear to have admitted that the right approach to God was psychological rather than physical. As a result, the Tāntric theories grew and flourished; each new step, each new hypothesis, demanded another in the astro-psychic system of Time known as Kāla-cakra; until Vijayasvāminī and Māna Deva gave a fresh start to the new system of Bhairavi-cakra.

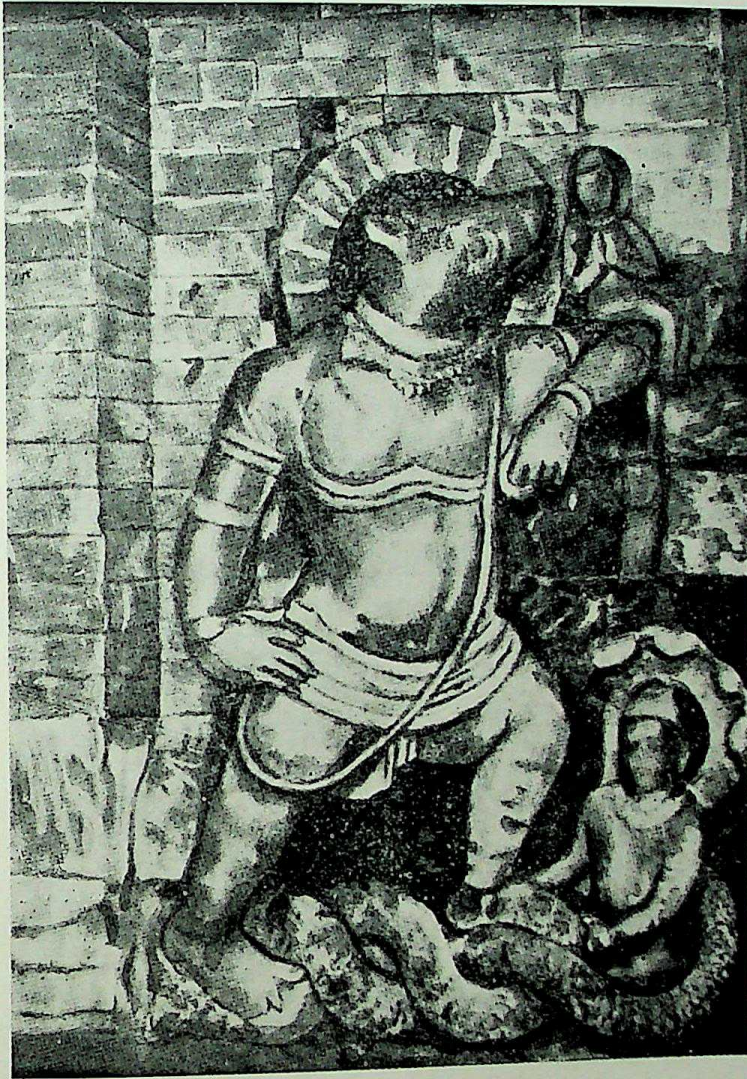
Māna Deva was a great warrior in the wake of the Śaka-muruṇḍas and the Kuṣhaṇas. It was his wars that started Māna Deva thinking again about the big question of the Five Ms beyond the narrow bonds of the Pañca-śīlas (Five moralities) and Pañca-gavyas (Five Ambrosias) in his quest for the Ultimate Best in the direction of human affairs. One winter day when I visited the stūpa of Namo-Buddhāya (vulgo : Nāmmuḍā), (where the Dāna Śīla Bodhisattva who gave his life to feed the old hungry tigress and her litter of seven cubs is believed to be buried), I was overwhelmed by the beauty of the hoary Himālayas which extended from the peaks of Gaurī-Śaṅkar to Sagar-māthā (Mt. Everest). When I was returning, I saw the temple of Palānchowk from where, I was told, I could command a better view of the Himālayan region and the sources of the Kauśikī river systems. After the discovery of Vijayasvāminī's Inscription of Palānchowk, I was personally keen to visit the site and was enthralled by the beauty of the image of the Durgā and the intellectual sophistication and breadth of the

adjacent basreliefs and relics amid a mixed population in the surrounding country. Here, for the first time, I felt that much of the dogmatic doctrines embedded in these stûpas and images needed to be demytholised. On examining the image with reference to the inscription; I had the feeling that the myth of Vijaya Śhree was far stronger than reality, and I congratulated Vijayasvāminî and Māna Deva for choosing the site of Palānchowk to explain their new system of Bhairavi-cakra in the wake of Dharma-cakra and Kāla-cakra. We have indicated how there were iconoclasts even during the third and fourth centuries A. D., but Vijayasvāminî and her consort appear to have realised that without these symbols, forms and myths, it is impossible to continue with our faith in life and affirm that God is alive. The Inverted cups in the hands of Vijaya Śhree contain the divine message; and the spiritual quality behind the inscription of Vijayasvāminî still has a historical meaning which bears testimony to the importance of the image to the human psyche of the multiethnic society of Nepal.

We have given a description of the political events which led to the conquest of a very ancient and highly sophisticated urban-civilisation of Moheñjodāro by nomadic and rustic Aryans, and how our primary historical sources give us adequate information about the mixed peoples of the Himālayan "Janapadas" ruled by the various dynasties which wielded power in the political scheme of fraternal kings. The survival of the ceremony of Samyak and the Eighteen Artisan Guilds, though interpreted in a different context today, is a feature which is unique in the history of mankind. We have also seen how the religious history of Nepal cannot be studied in isolation. The historical documents of the Śākyas, Śakas, Kuṣhaṇas, Licchavis and Ābhîras tend to be purposeful, specially when they convey the convictions of their developing faith of Saddharma with the interaction of disparate ethnic groups under heterogenous cultural traditions. I would insist that our researches would be without significance, if we cannot retrace the long road we have travelled in quest of the eternal human values and the ultimate beat in the direction of human affairs. We are now in the first decade of the sixth century A. D. and we have still a very long way to travel in our historical pilgrimage to modern Nepal.

In conclusion, I would like to close this volume with a quotation from Professor G. Tucci as follows : "Furthermore, Nepal is not suspen-

Plate No. XXXI



Dhum-varāha of the village of Ciandol in profile represents the Third incarnation of Viṣṇu as a Man-boar jumping out of the cosmic waters with a small image of the earth with folded hand on the tip of his elbow. Note the vajra and the sacred thread which proves that this Viṣṇu's incarnation holds the earth as the goddess of Dawn of Bhāravi. The appearance of Vajreswar and the mention of the Buddhist divinity of Atikāruṅk by Bhāravi gives strong indication of Mantra-yāna in Nepal.

ded in a void; it is a part of that complex of Asiatic cultures which from the dawn of history has been linked with Europe by enduring bonds and by trade to such an extent that it has created a unity of all the ancient world, which I would call a Euro-Afro-Asiatic unity, woven of invasion and resistance of trade and of competition, of mutual expansion and withdrawal but, precisely because of its variety and cohesion, its participation and separation so actively creative that only in this triune continent, diverse and yet united, the greatest adventures of the mind and the imagination have taken place."

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